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THE INFLUENCE OF EGYPT ON HEBREW LITERATURE

By A. B. MACE

MUCH has been written in recent years about the parallels that exist between Old Testament and Babylonian records—such for example as are shown by the stories of the Creation and of the Flood, and by the respective Law Codes of Hammurabi and of Moses—and many and acrimonious are the controversies to which they have given rise.¹ In view of this flood of literature, and the close scrutiny to which Old Testament writings have been subjected for evidence on which to base the theory of Babylonian influence, it is surprising that so little real attention has been directed towards another possible source of influence, and the question whether Egypt too might not have left her mark on Hebrew literature and thought. Somewhat sweeping statements have been made, it is true, with regard to the supposed Messianic character of a group of Egyptian documents; certain resemblances have been quoted, notably that between Ikhnaton's Hymn to the Sun and the 104th Psalm; and an incident in the story of Joseph has been cited as having been borrowed from the Tale of the Two Brothers: but, so far as we know, there has been no serious attempt to search Old Testament literature—more particularly the Didactic Books—for signs of Egyptian influence. It is remarkable that the subject should have attracted so little attention, for, as we believe, the literature and thought of Egypt did exercise a very real influence on that of the Hebrews, an influence quite as marked as that of Babylonia, and very much more important in its effects. This is a statement that will probably be challenged, by the Egyptologist no less than by the Bible critic, on the grounds that compositions of a purely literary character

1. The points of resemblance are certainly much too close to be accidental, but the theory that seems now to meet with fairly general acceptance is that they are due, in these particular instances, not to borrowing or direct influence, but to the fact that the traditions of the two nations were derived from a common source (see, for example, Jastrow, *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*, p. 24).

were rare in Egypt, that Egyptian manuscripts were unlikely ever to have reached Palestine, and that even if they did, they were totally lacking in the qualities that would make them a source of inspiration to another people. Now how far are these claims borne out by the facts? That in comparison with funerary texts purely literary works are rare is true enough, but a similar statement might be made with regard to all other classes of Egyptian remains. For every Egyptian object in a museum that belongs primarily to the present life there are a hundred that were made expressly for the tomb, and this is due, not to the temperament of the Egyptian, as so many people have thought,¹ but to the nature of the country itself. The narrow strip of cultivated land on either side of the river was much too valuable to be wasted on cemetery ground. Graves were placed on the desert, out of reach of any possible inundation level, and therefore their contents have been preserved. Town sites, on the other hand, were for the most part situated in the cultivated area, and have, with few exceptions, entirely disappeared. Nine-tenths of our knowledge of Egyptian daily life we owe to tomb scenes and tomb deposits, whereas the town remains, and the classes of objects which they alone would supply, are almost entirely lacking.

It is then by no means safe to assume that the Egyptians paid little attention to literary composition from the fact that so few examples are found; nor is it fair to assert that, because certain compositions are known to have been freely copied, the Egyptians had but few models from which to select. As regards the compositions themselves, we are well aware that it is the fashion, with many Egyptologists, to deny that they possess any real merit as literature at all. 'Prosaic,' 'hackneyed,' 'uninspired,' 'a barren desert' are some of the terms that they use in speaking of Egyptian literature; but is it not possible that the fault lies, in part at any rate, in their own translations, and that certain of the epithets in question might occasionally with some show of justice be applied to their rendering of the texts? The philologist, in his enthusiasm over root derivatives and nice grammatical points, is liable at times to concentrate on words and let the general sense go by. Then, too, manu-

1. Writers on Egypt, from Herodotus downwards, have been much too ready to envelop the Egyptian in an atmosphere of gloom and funereal anticipation. The very fact that he furnished his tomb so lavishly with objects of daily life is sufficient to show what a strong hold life had on him, and how bitterly he resented the thought of a possible extinction. In his own words he 'loved life' and 'hated death.'

scripts are generally mutilated; our knowledge of the language is still far from perfect; and the loss of a word or two, the mistranslation of a phrase, the failure to grasp the exact shade of meaning of an idiom—any one of these is quite sufficient to destroy the literary quality of a passage, even if it does not succeed in annihilating its sense altogether. Here, for example, is Shakespeare's most beautiful sonnet, as it might appear translated from a mutilated text by a future archaeologist—

(1) Should I liken thee to a day in summer, (2) thou (who) art more beautiful and more restrained (?) (than other men). (3) Violent winds 'strip off' beloved blossoms in (the month of) May,¹ (4) and in summer the 'sunshine' has too short a time for dates (?).² (5) Sometimes exceeding hot glistens the eye of heaven,³ (6) and frequently the golden appearance (?) is diminished, (7) and every beautiful thing (?) from beauty (?) sometimes turns away. (8) By chance or (by) nature the course changes (and we take no heed?). (9) Nevertheless to thee summer (is) everlasting, and will never diminish, (10) nor wilt thou be deprived of the beauty (?) for which thou art in debt; ⁴ (11) nor (in) death shalt 'thou' boast (when) thou passest into the place of darkness,⁵ (12) (the place) where the endless procession (?) (of the dead) becomes greater for all eternity (?) (13) While men are able to breathe (?), or to see with their eyes, (14) while they live . . . imparts life. . . .

The meaning of the individual words is but slightly altered, yet the general sense has undergone a complete change, while the poetry has disappeared altogether. It is true that there is a certain amount of tedious repetition in Egyptian writing, and a forced juggling with words that is painful to our ears, but there are passages, especially in the compositions of the Heracleopolitan school,¹ that reach a very high level, and are fairly entitled to be classed as real literature.

That the Hebrews had at least the opportunity of borrowing from Egyptian literature there can surely be little doubt. It was as a result

1. It is curious that several of the works that rank as Egypt's classics should have been produced in a period which has so little to show in the way of material remains. In art as well as in literature these little-known Heracleopolitans seem to have been working along original lines, and it is quite possible that if they had emerged victorious from their long struggle with the Thebans the whole course of Egyptian art might have been changed. The Middle Kingdom materialists who succeeded them united Egypt, and made it prosperous, but stifled its artistic development by a deliberate reversion to archaism.

of their residence in Egypt that they grew from a family of wandering Arabs to become a nation. After their settlement in Palestine there was constant, and frequently close, connection between the two countries. The royal houses intermarried. At the time of the Captivity, which it must be remembered marked the golden age of Hebrew literature, large Jewish colonies were founded in Egypt, even as far south as Assuan; while the prophet Jeremiah himself migrated to Egypt, and is supposed to have ended his days there. That eastern peoples borrowed freely from one another in the matter of literature there is plenty of evidence. There are distinct legacies of Egyptian tales in the *Arabian Nights*—and even in European folk-tales—but the classic example is of course the Story of Ahikar, which occurs in more or less complete form in Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Greek and Slavonic, and is referred to by the writer of Tobit, by Clement of Alexandria, by Strabo, and by Diogenes Laertius.¹ The earliest version that we know is the Aramaic copy of 500 B.C. found in the library of the Jewish colony at Elephantine. The story is really an amalgam of two compositions, somewhat loosely strung together—the Proverbs of Ahikar, and the Exploits of Ahikar—in the first of which Ahikar delivers himself of a series of moral maxims for the guidance of his adopted son, and in the second, as envoy from one king to another, he solves riddles and performs a number of feats of magic. These were themes that were extremely popular in oriental literature generally, but it is significant that it is from Egypt that the earliest examples come, and the Elephantine writer of 500 B.C. might well have drawn from Egyptian models for this companion picture to the book of Tobit. As a matter of fact, the introduction to the Proverbs of Ahikar bears a very strong resemblance in form to that of the best-known Egyptian model of the same class—the Proverbs of Ptahhotep:—

Ptahhotep

The governor of the city and vizier Ptahhotep says, 'O king, my lord, infirmity comes on, old age advances, the limbs weaken, feebleness is renewed, strength perishes because of the languor of the heart. The

Story of Ahikar (Syriac Version)

. . . and when the king came from the place to which he had gone, he called me and said to me, 'O Ahikar, the wise scribe and master of my thoughts, when thou shalt wax old and die, who is there to come after

1. The literature on the subject is enormous. See, *e.g.*, Coneybeare, Rendel Harris, and Lewis, *The Story of Ahikar*, London, 1898, where several of the versions are quoted.

mouth is silent and speaks not; the eyes wax small, the ears are dulled. The languid heart sleeps every day. The heart forgets, it remembers not yesterday. . . . Let thy servant be commanded to furnish a successor. Let my son stand in my place, and let me instruct him according to the word of those who have heard the manner of the ancestors. . . .

Said his majesty 'Instruct him after the manner of old. May he do marvels among the children of the princes. . . .'¹

(Follow the proverbs.)

thee and to serve me like thyself?' And I answered and said to him, 'O my lord the king, live for ever! I have a son wise like myself, and book-learned like myself, and educated.' And the king said to me, 'Bring him and let me see him. If he is able to stand before me, I will release thee in peace, and thou shalt spend thy old age in honour, until thou shalt end thy days.' Then I took my son Nadan, and set him before the king, and when my lord the king saw him, he said, 'This day shall be a blessed day before God, so that like as Ahikar walked before my father Sarhadum, and before me also, he shall be rewarded and I will set his son in my gate in his lifetime and he shall depart his life in peace. . . .

Nor did I cease from the instruction of my son until I had filled him with instruction as with bread and water. And on this wise was I discoursing to him: ²

(Follow the proverbs.)

The parallel is almost too close to be accidental, especially as many of the proverbs that follow bear striking resemblances, *e.g.*, out of a number that might be quoted—

Ptahhotep

12, 6. 'Approach' not a prince in his time, and burden not the heart of a man already occupied.

14, 6. If thou searchest the character of a friend . . . transact the matter with him when he is alone.

Ahikar

65. My son, strive not with a man in his day, and stand not against a river in its flood.

(Syriac version.)

51. My son, prove thy friend first with bread and wine, then may he be admitted to something better.

(Slavonic.)

1. Breasted's translation, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p. 228.

2. Coneybeare, Rendel Harris, and Lewis, *The Story of Ahikar*, London, 1898, pp. 59-60.

Plakhotep (continued).

- 11, 5-7. Repeat not extravagant speech, neither listen thereto; for it is the utterance of a body heated by wrath. When such speech is repeated to thee, hearken not thereto, look to the ground.
- 10, 8-12. Love thy wife in husbandly embrace. . . . She is a profitable field for her lord.
- 14, 12—15, 2. Let thy face be bright what time thou livest. That which goeth into the storehouse must come out therefrom: and bread is to be shared.

Ahikar (continued).

6. My son, let thine eyes look on the ground, and thy voice be soft. (Slavonic.)
56. My son, love thy wife with all thy heart, for she is the mother of thy children. (Slavonic.)
66. My son, when thou hast bidden a friend to a feast, welcome him with a cheerful countenance, that he too may return to his home in a cheerful mood. (Slavonic.)

For the second part of the Ahikar composition there is no obvious source in Egypt that is definitely earlier than 500 B.C., though in the Sequenre tale we find one king making use of a riddle as a means of picking a quarrel with another king; but in the second of the Setna tales the Ethiopian envoy provides a fairly close parallel.

This digression may seem to have led us rather far away from our immediate subject, but its object is to show that the Hebrews could, if they so desired, have had ready access to Egyptian models. That they actually made use of these models would be a very difficult thing to prove, but we believe that the parallel passages quoted below make out a strong presumptive case.

In the first place it is at least possible that the Hebrews borrowed from Egypt the form of their poetry. This is a statement that we should hesitate to make, even in its present non-committal form, were it not for the much more decided evidence of literary influence that we have on other sides. A mental comparison between the glorious poetry of the Old Testament and the somewhat meagre remains that have been recovered from Egypt makes such a claim seem a little fantastic, but let us look at the facts. What are the main characteristics of Hebrew poetry? The two chief elements of poetry as we know it, rhyme and metre, do not occur. It depends to a certain extent on rhythm, but more particularly on a parallelism of words or thought between the different parts of the verse. It is a peculiar form of poetry, such as is not likely to have originated in two countries independently, yet we find it

fully developed in Egypt in 2000 B.C., and distinct traces of it a thousand years before that. It occurs, though in less marked a form, in Babylonian poetry, and, in more modern times, in the poetry of several of the Hamidic peoples, but its use in Egypt long antedates that in any other country.

The parallelism of members, on which this style of poetry is based, takes several forms. We give examples of the simpler forms, both from Hebrew and Egyptian.

1. *Synonymous Parallelism*, in which the second part of the verse carries on or develops the thought of the first part.

O Lord, how manifold are thy works !	How manifold are thy works !
In wisdom hast thou made them all.	They are hidden from before us.
<i>Psalms 104, 24.</i>	<i>Hymn to Aton.</i>

2. *Antithetic Parallelism*, in which the second part of the verse contains a thought directly contrasting with that of the first part.

In the lips of him that hath discernment wisdom is found :	The wise man rises early to establish himself :
But a rod is for the back of him that is void of understanding.	But the fool is scourged.
<i>Proverbs 10, 13.</i>	<i>Ptahhotep 17, 4.</i>

3. *Synthetic Parallelism*, in which the original idea is developed by accessory ideas.

I have been young, but now am old ;	Death is before me to-day
Yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken,	Like the odour of myrrh,
Nor his seed begging their bread.	Like sitting under the sail on a windy day.
<i>Psalms 37, 25.</i>	<i>Misanthrope.</i>

4. *Climactic Parallelism or Ascending Rhythm*, in which the thought in the first line is incomplete, while the second line repeats words from the first and completes the thought.

Give unto the Lord, O ye sons of the mighty,	Ho ! King Neferkere ! How beautiful is this,
Give unto the Lord glory and strength.	How beautiful is this, which thy father Osiris has done for thee !
<i>Psalms 29, 1.</i>	<i>Pyr. Texts, 2022.</i>

There are of course other features that enter into Hebrew poetry, such, for example, as the division of the poem into stanzas, sometimes

with recurring refrains, the use of antiphony, and of such devices as acrostic arrangements and plays upon words. These can all be paralleled readily enough in Egyptian poetry, but, though they have a certain cumulative value, they are individually hardly distinctive enough to be admitted as evidence of borrowing. The use of recurring refrains for instance is common in Babylonian, as indeed in most other examples of primitive poetry.

So much for the form of the poetry. Now let us turn to the general character of the literature. Omitting the purely historical books, for which we have no counterpart in Egypt, we find in the Old Testament—

- (1) Purely lyrical poetry, such as the Psalms, the Song of Solomon, and the songs scattered through the earlier books.
- (2) The Didactic Books—Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes.
- (3) The Prophetic Books.

Lyrical poetry is of course common to every age and every country, and need not detain us here. It will suffice to quote a few parallels between the Hebrew Psalms and Egyptian Hymns to the Sun!¹

Hymn to the Sun's Disk

Psalms

104, 20-23.

When thou settest in the western
horizon of the sky,
The earth is in darkness like the dead.
Every lion cometh forth from his den,
All serpents, they sting.
Bright is the earth when thou risest
in the horizon.
When thou shinest as Aton by day
Thou drivest away the darkness.
Their limbs bathed, they take their
clothing,
Their arms uplifted in adoration to
thy dawning.
(Then) in all the world they do their
work.

Thou makest darkness and it is
night,
Wherein all the beasts of the forest
do creep forth.
The young lions roar after their
prey,
And seek their meat from God.
The sun ariseth, they get them away
And lay them down in their dens.
Man goeth forth unto his work
And to his labour until the evening.

1. The translations from Egyptian in this paper are for the most part taken from Breasted's *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*. In this stimulating book the author notes analogies between Egyptian and Hebrew literature, but hesitates to assume direct influence.

The barques sail up-stream and down-
stream alike :
Every highway is open because thou
dawnest.
The fish in the river leap up before
thee :
Thy rays are in the midst of the great
green sea.

Creator of the germ in woman,
Maker of seed in man,
Giving life to the son in the body of
his mother,
Soothing him that he may not weep,
Nurse (even) in the womb,
Giver of breath to animate every one
that he maketh !

When he cometh forth from the
body . . . on the day of his birth,
Thou openest his mouth in speech,
Thou suppliest his necessities.

How manifold are thy works !
They are hidden from before (us),
O Sole God, whose powers no other
possesseth.

The world is in thy hand,
Even as thou hast made them.
When thou hast risen they live,
When thou settest they die ;
For thou art length of life of thyself.
Men live through thee,
While (their) eyes are upon thy beauty
Until thou settest.

104, 25-26.

Yonder is the sea, great and wide,
Wherein are things creeping in
numerable,
Both small and great beasts.
There go the ships,
There is leviathan, whom thou hast
formed to take his pastime
therein.

22, 9-10.

But thou art he that took me out of
the womb :
Thou didst make me trust, when I
was upon my mother's breasts.
I was cast upon thee from the womb :
Thou art my god from my mother's
belly.

145, 16.

Thou openest thine hand,
And satisfiest the desire of every
living thing.

104, 24.

O Lord ! How manifold are thy
works !
In wisdom hast thou made them all.
The earth is full of thy riches.

104, 28-30.

That thou givest unto them they
gather ;
Thou openest thine hand, they are
satisfied with good.
Thou hidest thy face, they are
troubled ;
Thou takest away their breath, they
die,
And return to their dust.
Thou sendest forth thy spirit, they
are created ;
And thou renewest the face of the
ground.

Great Hymn to Amon

Maker of herbs for the cattle,
 And the tree of life for mankind,
 Who maketh the sustenance of the
 fish (in) the stream,
 And the birds that 'traverse' the sky.
 Who giveth breath to that which is
 in the egg,
 And maketh to live the son of the
 worm,
 Who maketh that on which the gnats
 live,
 The worms and the insects likewise,
 Who supplieth the needs of the mice
 in their holes,
 Who sustaineth alive the 'birds' in
 every tree.

Praise to thee in all that they say,
 Jubilation to thee, 'for thy tarrying
 with us',
 Obeisance to thee, who didst create
 us,
 Hail to thee, say all cattle ;
 Jubilation to thee, says every country,
 To the height of heaven, to the
 breadth of earth,
 To the depths of the sea.

Psalms

104, 14-18.

He causeth the grass to grow for
 the cattle,
 And herb for the service of man :
 That he may bring forth food out
 of the earth ;
 And wine that maketh glad the
 heart of man,
 And oil to make his face to shine,
 And bread which strengtheneth
 man's heart.
 The trees of the Lord are full of sap,
 The cedars of Lebanon, which he
 hath planted ;
 Where the birds make their nests :
 As for the stork, the fir trees are
 her house.
 The high hills are a refuge for the
 goats,
 And the rocks for the conies.

148, 7-13.

Praise the Lord from the earth ;
 Ye dragons and all deeps.
 Fire and hail, snow and vapours,
 Stormy wind, fulfilling his word.
 Mountains and all hills ;
 Fruitful trees and all cedars.
 Beasts and all cattle ;
 Creeping things and flying fowl.
 Kings of the earth and all people ;
 Princes and all judges of the earth.
 Both young men and maidens ; old
 men and children ;
 Let them praise the name of the
 Lord ;
 For his name alone is excellent ;
 His glory is above the earth and
 heaven.

The second group—consisting of the Didactic Books—belongs to that curious class of literature, so popular later among the Greek philosophers, in which the sage tempers his philosophy, or the social reformer

disguises his tract, to render them more palatable to the popular taste, by casting them in dramatic form, commonly in dialogue. In recent years Old Testament critics have been revising their ideas as to the date at which this group of books was written, on the ground that both in form and in much of their contents they show distinct signs of Greek influence.¹ We have, however, in Middle Kingdom Egypt, a most remarkable group of tractates, at least fifteen hundred years earlier in date, which show much closer analogies than are to be found in Greek writings. They include the Proverbs of Ptahhotep, the Treatise of Khékheperresonbu, the Dialogue of a Misanthrope with his Soul, the Tale of the Eloquent Peasant, and others. We may also include in this group the Song of the Harper.

In these Egyptian documents there are to be found, quite apart from the character of the documents themselves, extraordinarily close parallels to the Old Testament writings; so close indeed that it is hard to escape from the conclusion that the Hebrews deliberately modelled their Wisdom Books on Egyptian patterns of similar works, and even appropriated much of their contents.

The most remarkable resemblance perhaps is that between Proverbs and Ptahhotep. We give below some of the parallels.² Both tractates are cast in the form of a series of moral maxims delivered by a father to a son, and it will be noticed that if we translate the 'sayings of the good word' of Ptahhotep into 'Proverbs,' the opening sentences of the two books are almost identical.

1. See for example the recent *Commentary on the Holy Bible*, edited by the Rev. J. R. Dummelow. Here the later date is given for Ecclesiastes on the ground that the book 'bears distinct traces of the Greek culture established throughout the civilised world after the break up of the Empire of Alexander the Great.' Such traces, *e.g.*, appear in—

- (a) the writer's advice to enjoy the present life (2²⁴, 3²², 5¹⁸, 9⁷)
- (b) his comments on human weakness and disorder (5⁸, 7⁷, 8^{9,14}, 9¹⁶, 10^{18f})
on the vanity and brevity of life (*e.g.* 1²⁻¹⁷)
on the common destiny of human and brute creation (3^{18f})
- (c) his references to man's inventive capacity (7²⁹)
- (d) his remarks on the phenomena of nature (1^{6,8}).

Now with the exception of (c) these, as the quotations in this paper clearly show, can all be traced directly to Egyptian sources, dating for the most part to 2000 B.C., or even earlier. If we are to accept the traces of influence given above as evidence, they merely go to prove that the Greek philosophers' debt to Egypt was greater than has been supposed.

2. Unfortunately we still await an exhaustive treatment of this most difficult text. Some of our quotations are merely the rubrics to the paragraphs.

Ptahhotep

Beginning of the sayings of the good word which the prince . . . the vizier, Ptahhotep said, as instruction of the ignorant to knowledge, according to the correctness of the good word. . . .

6, 11. If thou art a man of those who sit by the seat of a man greater than thou, take what (food) he gives.

9, 7-13. If thou desirest to establish friendship in a house . . . beware of approaching the women . . . a thousand men are undone for the enjoyment of a brief moment like a dream. Men gain only death for knowing them.

10, 8-12. If thou art successful, establish thy house. Love thy wife in husbandly embrace, fill her body, clothe her back. The recipe for her limbs is ointment. Gladden her heart as long as thou livest. She is a profitable field for her lord.

11, 1-4. Satisfy those who enter to thee with that which thou hast.

11, 5-7. Repeat not a word of [hearsay].

11, 8-11. If thou art an able man who sits in the council of his lord, summon thy understanding to excellent things(?). Be silent.

11, 12—12, 6. If thou art a strong man, establish the respect of thee by wisdom and by quietness of speech.

Proverbs

1, 1-2. The Proverbs of Solomon the son of David, King of Israel : To know wisdom and instruction : to discern the words of understanding. . . .

23, 1. When thou sittest to eat with a ruler, consider diligently what is before thee.

7, 25-27. Let not thine heart decline to her ways : go not astray in her paths. For she hath cast down many wounded : yea all her slain are a mighty host. Her house is the way to the grave, going down to the chambers of death.

5, 18-19. Let thy fountain be blessed ; and rejoice in the wife of thy youth. As a loving hind and a pleasant doe, let her breasts satisfy thee at all times ; and be thou ravished always with her love.

3, 27. Withhold not good from them to whom it is due, when it is in the power of thine hand to do it.

11, 13. He that goeth about as a tale-bearer revealeth secrets : but he that is of a faithful spirit concealeth the matter.

11, 12. He that despiseth his neighbour is void of wisdom : but a man of understanding holdeth his peace.

17, 27-28. He that spareth his words hath knowledge : and he that is of a cool spirit is a man of understanding. Even a fool, when he holdeth his peace, is counted wise ; when he shutteth his lips, he is esteemed as prudent.

- 13, 4-9. If thou art gentle in a matter that occurs. . . . If thou becomest great after thou wert little, and gettest possessions after thou wert formerly poor in the city . . . be not proud-hearted because of thy wealth. It has come to thee as a gift of the god.
- 14, 12. Let thy face be bright as long as thou livest.
- 15, 8—16, 2. If thou hearkenest to these things which I have said to thee, all thy plans will progress. As for the matter of the righteousness thereof, it is their worth(?). The memory thereof shall [circulate] in the mouths of men, because of the beauty of their utterances. Every word will be carried on and not perish in this land forever. . . . He who understands discretion is profitable in establishing that through which he succeeds on earth. A wise man is 'satisfied' by reason of that which he knows. As for a prince of good qualities [they are in] (?) his heart and his tongue. His lips are right when he speaks, his eyes see, and his ears together hear what is profitable for his son. Do right (righteousness, truth, justice), free from lying.
- 16, 3-12. Profitable is hearkening for a son that hearkens. How good it is when a son receives that which his father says. He shall reach advanced age thereby. A hearkener is one whom the god loves. Who hearkens not is one whom the god hates. It is the heart which makes its possessor a
- 16, 32-33. He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty ; and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city. The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord.
- 15, 13. A merry heart maketh a cheerful countenance.
- 8, 32-35. Now therefore, my sons, hearken unto me ; for blessed are they that keep my ways. Hear instruction and be wise, and refuse it not. Blessed is the man that heareth me, watching daily at my gates, waiting at the posts of my doors. For whoso findeth me findeth life, and shall obtain favour of the Lord.
- 8, 6-8. Hear, for I will speak excellent things ; and the opening of my lips shall be right things. For my mouth shall utter truth, and wickedness is an abomination to my lips. All the words of my mouth are in righteousness ; there is nothing crooked or perverse in them.
- 3, 1-4. My son, forget not my teaching ; but let thine heart keep my commandments. For length of days and years of life, and peace shall they add to thee. Let not mercy and truth forsake thee : bind them about thy neck ; write them upon the table of thine heart. So shalt thou find favour and good

Ptahhotep (continued)

hearkener or one not hearkening. The life, prosperity and health of a man is his heart. The hearkener is one who hears and speaks. He who does what is said is one who loves to hearken. How good it is when a son hearkens to his father. How happy is he to whom these things are said: His memory is in the mouth of the living who are on earth, and those who shall be.

17, 4. The wise man rises early to establish himself, while the fool is scourged.

17, 4-9. As for the fool who hearkens not, he accomplishes nothing. He regards wisdom as ignorance, and what is profitable as diseased. . . . His life is like death thereby, . . . he dies, living every day. Men pass by his qualities, because of the multitude of evils upon him every day.

17, 10—18, 12. A son who hearkens is a follower of Horus. He prospers after he hearkens. He reaches old age, he attains reverence. He speaks likewise to his own children, renewing the instruction of his father. Every man who instructs is like his sire. He speaks with his children; then they speak with their children. Attain character . . . make righteousness to flourish and thy children shall live.

Proverbs (continued)

repute in the sight of God and man.

10, 13. In the lips of him that hath discernment wisdom is found: but a rod is for the back of him that is void of understanding.

1, 29-32. For that they hated knowledge, and did not choose the fear of the Lord: they would none of my counsel; they despised all my reproof: Therefore shall they eat of the fruit of their own way, and be filled with their own devices. For the backsliding of the simple shall slay them, and the prosperity of fools shall destroy them.

4, 10-11. Hear, O my son, and receive my sayings; and the years of thy life shall be many. I have taught thee in the way of wisdom; I have led thee in paths of righteousness.

4, 3-6. For I was a son unto my father, tender and only beloved in the sight of my mother. And he taught me and said unto me, Let thine heart retain my words: Keep my commandments and live. Get wisdom, get understanding; forget it not, neither decline from the words of my mouth. Forsake her not, and she shall preserve thee: love her and she shall keep thee.

We have also in Proverbs a very close parallel from the Maxims of Ani.

Maxims of Ani 2, 13-17.

Guard thee from the woman from abroad, who is not known in her city; look not on her, . . . know her not in the flesh; (for she is) a flood great and deep, whose whirling no man knows.* The woman whose husband is far away,** I am beautiful, says she to thee every day. When she has no witnesses, she stands and ensnares thee. O great crime worthy of death when one hearkens, even when it be not known abroad. (For) a man takes up every sin 'after' this one.

Proverbs

6, 24-33. To keep thee from the evil woman, from the flattery of the tongue of a strange woman. Lust not after her beauty in thine heart; neither let her take thee with her eyelids; for by means of a whorish woman a man is brought to a piece of bread; and the adulteress will hunt for the precious life. Can a man take fire in his bosom, and his clothes not be burned? Can one go upon hot coals, and his feet not be burned? So he that goeth in to his neighbour's wife; who-soever toucheth her shall not be innocent. Men do not despise a thief, if he steal to satisfy his soul when he is hungry; but if he be found he shall restore sevenfold; he shall give all the substance of his house. But whoso committeth adultery with a woman lacketh understanding: he that doeth it destroyeth his own soul. A wound and dishonour shall he get, and his reproach shall not be wiped away.

* Whose whirling no man knows.

5, 6. Her ways are moveable, that thou canst not know them.

** Whose husband is far away.

7, 19. For the goodman is not at home, he is gone a long journey.

Again compare the papyrus of Khekheperresonbu with Ecclesiastes. Here in each case the tractate is in the form of a dialogue between a man and his heart, or, more strictly perhaps, a monologue addressed by a man to his heart.

Khekheperresonbu

The collection of words, the gathering of sayings, the pursuit of utterances with searching of heart, made by the priest of Heliopolis . . . Khekheperresonbu, called Onkhu.

He says : ' Would that I had unknown utterances, sayings that are unfamiliar, even new speech that has not occurred (before), free from repetitions, not the utterance of what has 'long' passed, which the ancestors spake. I squeeze out my mind for what is in it, in dislodging all that I say ; for it is but to repeat what has been said when what has (already) been said has been said. There is no 'support' for the speech of the ancestors when the descendants find it. . . . '

' I have spoken this in accordance with what I have seen, beginning with the first men down to those that shall come after. Would that I might know what others have not known, even what has not been repeated, that I might speak them and that my heart might answer me ; that I might make clear to it (my heart) concerning my ill, that I might throw off the burden that is on my back. . . . '

I am meditating on the things that have happened, the events that have occurred in the land. Transformations go on, it is not like last year, one year is more burdensome than the next. . . . Righteousness is cast out, iniquity is in the midst of the council-hall. The plans of the gods are violated, their dispositions are disregarded.

Ecclesiastes

The words of the Preacher, the son of David, king in Jerusalem :

Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher. . . .

One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh, but the earth abideth for ever. . . .

All things are full of labour : man cannot utter it : the eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear filled with hearing. The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be ; and that which is done is that which shall be done ; and there is no new thing under the sun. Is there anything whereof it may be said, See, this is new ? It hath been already of old time, which was before us. There is no remembrance of former things ; neither shall there be any remembrance of things that are to come with those that shall come after.

I, the Preacher, was King over Israel in Jerusalem : and I gave my heart to seek and search out by wisdom concerning all things that are done under heaven : this sore travail hath God given to the sons of man, to be exercised therewith.

I have seen all the works that are done under the sun ; and behold all is vanity and vexation of spirit. That which is crooked cannot be made straight : and that which is wanting cannot be numbered. . . .

That which hath been is now, and that which is to be hath already been : and God requireth that which is past. And moreover I saw under the sun the place of judgement, that wicked-

ness was there ; and the place of
righteousness, that iniquity was there.

He said to his heart : ‘ Come then,
my heart, that I may speak to thee.

. . .

I speak to thee, my heart ; answer
thou me. . . .’

I said in mine heart, ‘ Go to now, I
will prove thee. . . .

Then said I in my heart. . . .’

We get in Ecclesiastes also a clear echo of the Song of the Harper—

Song of the Harper

How prosperous is this good prince !
It is a goodly destiny, that the bodies
diminish.

Passing away while others remain,
Since the time of the ancestors,
The gods who were aforetime,
Who rest in their pyramids,
Nobles and the glorious departed
likewise,

Entombed in their pyramids.
Those who built their (tomb)-temples,
Their place is no more.
Behold what is done therein. . . .

None cometh from thence
That he may tell (us) how they fare ;
That he may tell (us) of their fortunes,
That he may content our heart,
Until we (too) depart
To the place whither they have gone.

Encourage thy heart to forget it,
Making it pleasant for thee to follow
thy desire,
While thou livest,
Put myrrh upon thy head,
And garments on thee of fine linen,
Imbued with marvellous luxuries,
The genuine things of the gods,
Thy sister who dwells in thy heart,
She sits at thy side.

Ecclesiastes

1, 4. One generation goeth and an-
other generation cometh ; and the
earth abideth for ever.

3, 20. All go unto one place ; all
are of the dust, and all turn to
dust again.

3, 22. Wherefore I saw that there is
nothing better, than that a man
should rejoice in his works ; for
that is his portion : for who shall
bring him back to see what shall
be after him ?

9, 7-9. Go thy way, eat thy bread
with joy, and drink thy wine with
a merry heart ; for God hath
already accepted thy works. Let
thy garments be always white ;
and let not thy head lack oint-
ment. Live joyfully with the wife
whom thou lovest all the days of
the life of thy vanity : for that is
thy portion in life, and in thy
labour wherein thou labourest under
the sun.

Song of the Harper (continued)

Increase yet more thy delights,
 And let not thy heart languish.
 Follow thy desire and thy good.
 Fashion thine affairs on earth
 After the mandates of thine (own)
 heart.

(Till) that day of lamentation cometh
 to thee,

When the silent-hearted hears not
 their lamentation,

Nor he that is in the tomb attends
 the mourning.

Celebrate the glad day.

Be not weary therein.

Lo, no man taketh his goods with
 him.

Yea, none returneth again that is
 gone thither.

Ecclesiastes (continued)

9, 10. Whatsoever thy hand findeth
 to do, do it with thy might;
 for there is no work, nor device,
 nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the
 grave, whither thou goest.

5, 15. As he came forth of his
 mother's womb, naked shall he go
 again as he came, and shall take
 nothing for his labour, which he
 may carry away in his hand.

In Babylonian literature we find another version of the same song in
 the Epic of Gilgamesh—

Sabitu speaks to him, to Gilgamesh,
 'O Gilgamesh, why dost thou run in all directions?
 The life that thou seekest thou wilt not find.
 When the gods created mankind,
 They determined death for mankind;
 Life they kept in their hands.
 Thou, O Gilgamesh, fill thy belly,
 Day and night be thou merry.
 Daily arrange a merry-making,
 Day and night be joyous and content!
 Let thy garments be pure,
 Thy head be washed, wash thyself with water.
 Regard the little one who takes hold of thy hand.
 Enjoy the wife (lying) in thy bosom.'¹

Not so striking, but still clearly marked, is the parallelism between
 Job and the Dialogue of a Misanthrope. In the Misanthrope we get
 the picture of a man once prosperous brought to ruin, deserted by friends

1. Jastrow, *Civilisation of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 462.

and relatives, and stricken with disease. His name has become 'a stench in the nostrils' of man. In this plight he holds an argument with his soul as to whether it is not better to die than to live. The conclusion he comes to is that life under present conditions is impossible, that death will be a happy release, and that after death there will at least be justice done, and that the innocent will not suffer with the guilty.

In Job the framework is the same. We get the prosperous man ruined, deserted, and diseased. He has become 'a byword of the people.' He then has an argument with three of his former friends, as to the justice or injustice of his misfortunes. He longs for death, and looks forward to justification after death. So far the stories are very similar, though there is naturally a different handling owing to difference in date, and to the wide divergence between the Egyptian and the Hebrew point of view. In Job, however, we get a sequel. God intervenes in the argument, and finally Job is restored to more than his former prosperity, this last being a thoroughly typical Hebrew piece of embroidery.¹

The book of Job provides other evidence of acquaintanceship with Egypt in its descriptive pictures of such objects as the papyrus plant, the crocodile, and the hippopotamus. There are, moreover, several instances in it of the use of Egyptian words and idioms.²

There remains the third group of books—the Prophetic. Curiously enough, though the analogies between Egyptian and Hebrew literature are less clearly defined in this group than in either of the other two, it is the only one to which any particular attention has been paid. Indeed quite a lively controversy has arisen, dealing chiefly with the Admonitions of Ipuwer. Lange³ first discovered the nature of the contents of the papyrus, and claimed a Messianic character for it. Meyer⁴ went further and made the bold statement that the main source of all prophecy came out of Egypt. Gardiner, in his magnificent edition of the papyrus, criticises Lange's conclusions, and states⁵ 'that there is no certain or even likely trace of prophecies in any part of the book,' and again⁶

1. Cf. also Jastrow, 'A Babylonian Parallel to Story of Job' (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, XXV, pp. 135-91; and *Civilisation of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 474). Here the parallel is not so close, and the Babylonian story is almost certainly later in date than the Egyptian.

2. See Hertz, *O.L.Z.*, XVI, p. 343.

3. 'Prophezeiungen eines ägyptischen Weisen,' in *Sitzungsber. der Kgl. Preuss. Akad.*, 1903, 601 ff.

4. *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, p. 454.

5. *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, p. 17.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

that 'there is too much uncertainty about the matter for it to be made the basis of any far-reaching conclusions as to the influence of Egyptian upon Hebrew literature.' Finally Breasted,¹ though he agrees with Gardiner that Lange is wrong in interpreting a certain passage in the papyrus as definitely predicting the coming of a Messianic king, admits the possibility that 'the pamphlets of Ipuwer and the men of his class entered Palestine and suggested to the idealists of Israel the conception of the righteous king and redeemer.' The passage in question is of course the well-known one—

'He bringeth(?) coolness upon that which is hot. It is said: he is the herdsman of mankind. No evil is in his heart. When his herds are few, he passes the day to gather them together, their hearts being on fire(?). Would that he had perceived their nature in the first generation (of men): then he would have repressed evils, he would have stretched forth (his) arm against it, he would have destroyed their seed (?) and their inheritance . . . a fighter(?) goes forth, that 'he ?' may destroy the wrongs that (?) they have brought about. There is no pilot(?) in their moment. Where is he(?) to-day ? Is he sleeping ? Behold his might is not seen.' ²

Striking though the passage is, it is certainly not safe to assume that Ipuwer was predicting the coming of a righteous king, and the establishment of an ideal kingdom. In another papyrus, however, more recently published by Gardiner,³ there is a passage which is most definitely predictive—

'There is a king shall come from the South, whose name is Ameny, son of a Nubian woman, a child of Chen-khon. He shall receive the White Crown; he shall assume the Red Crown; he shall unite the Two Powerful Ones; he shall propitiate Horus and Seth with what they love, the "Surrounder of fields" in his grasp, the oar . . . The people of his time shall rejoice, (this) man of noble birth shall make his name for ever and ever . . . and Right shall come into its place, and Iniquity be cast(?) forth.'

Here the prophet, Neferrohu, not only predicts the coming of the righteous king, but actually mentions him by name. Probably, as Gardiner points out, the prophecy was composed during the reign of the king whose coming was supposed to be predicted, and we thus get a very

1. *Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 212-14.

2. Gardiner's translation (11, 11-12, 6).

3. *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, I, p. 100 (Papyrus Petersburg 1116 B).

close parallel to the latter portion of Isaiah, that referring to Cyrus, which most critics now agree was written during the exile.

In structure there is the very closest analogy between the Hebrew Prophetic Books and the writings of Ipuwer and Neferrohu. In both we get the same passionate zeal for reform finding expression in alternating outbursts against the existing order of society and prophetic visions of an ideal state to come, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the one was influenced by the other. It may well be that these fragmentary documents that have come down to us from 2000 B.C., together with others of a similar nature which have perished, were the means of suggesting to the Prophets a mode of expression which their inspired genius was to put to such wonderful use.

So far we have spoken only of Egyptian influence on the literature. We believe that contact with Egypt left its mark on the religion also. Help for the poor, justice for the oppressed, belief in righteousness for its own sake, personal relationship with God—all these were known and practised in Egypt before they were thought of in any other country. We give below a series of quotations from Egyptian documents which seem to breathe the very spirit of the later Hebrew religion¹—

‘ Who hears the prayer of him who is in captivity,
Who is kindly of heart when one calls upon him,
Who saves the timid from the haughty,
Who separates the weak from the strong.’

‘ Hymn to Amon.’ *Cairo Papyrus*, No. 17.

‘ Thou, O Amon, art the lord of the silent,
Who cometh at the cry of the poor,
When I cry to thee in my affliction,
Then thou comest and savest me.
That thou mayest give breath to him who is bowed down,
And mayest save me lying in bondage.

.

1. Gunn, in a recent *Journ. Eg. Arch.* (III, p. 81), quotes a number of inscriptions of this type, and argues that they are peculiar to a period, and quite foreign to the Egyptian character as we know it from other evidence. It is quite true that the ‘miserable sinner’ mental attitude does not occur elsewhere. It is essentially a Babylonian characteristic, and the Hebrew penitential psalms are certainly largely due to a legacy of Babylonian tradition. But surely the striking part about the Egyptian inscriptions we are quoting is not so much the humbleness of the attitude of the writer, as his genuine love for God and belief in his justice. This is a feeling that is quite foreign to Babylonian ideas, whereas in Egypt it is supported by passages in many other writings—compare e.g. the Hymns, Ipuwer, and the two Petersburg papyri.

‘Nebre, painter of Amon in the necropolis . . . made this in the name of his lord, Amon, lord of Thebes, who cometh at the cry of the poor ; making for him praises in his name, because of the greatness of his might, and making for him prayers before him and before the whole land, on behalf of the painter Nakht-Amon, when he lay sick unto death, being in the power of Amon, because of his sin. . . . He saith, “ Though the servant be wont to commit sin, yet is the lord wont to be gracious. The lord of Thebes spends not the whole day wroth. If he be wroth for the space of a moment it remaineth not . . . turns to us in graciousness. Amon turns his breath.” ’

Berlin Stela, No. 20,377.

‘ O Amon, thou herdman bringing forth the herds in the morning, leading the suffering to pasture ; as the herdman leads the herds to pasture, so dost thou, O Amon, lead the suffering to food, for Amon is a herdman, herding him that leans upon him. . . . O Amon-Re, I love thee, and I have filled my heart with thee. . . . Thou wilt rescue me out of the mouth of men in the day when they speak lies : for the lord of truth, he liveth in truth. . . . ’

B. M. Ostrakon, No. 5656a.

Is it not possible then that the original Hebrew God of the earlier part of the Old Testament, implacable and unforgiving, far removed from man, and Babylonian in origin, should have changed some of his attributes through connection with Egypt, and the absorption by the Hebrews of the Egyptian code of ethics, with its truer conception of justice, and more kindly and more tolerant view of life.¹ There can be no doubt that the Babylonian and Hebrew nations were derived from the same ethnic stock, and received the same inheritance of tradition ; but whereas under the Babylonians these traditions remained practically unchanged, in the hands of the Hebrews they underwent the most remarkable transformation. The spirit of this transformation is shown clearly by Jastrow, in his *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*. He states (p. 252)—

‘ Among the Hebrews the introduction of the ethical element leads to the doctrine of individual retribution which steadily gathers strength through the experiences of the Hebrew nation and is further reinforced through the speculation of leaders imbued with the ethical monotheism of the Prophets. It reaches its culmination in Jewish and Christian teachings of rewards and punishments in a future existence, accompanied by such concomitant beliefs as the distinction between Paradise and Hell, the resurrection of the body, the final day of judgement, and, as the flower of the spiritual faith, the

1. One of the most striking differences between the Babylonian and Egyptian moral codes was that in the former punishment for crime varied with the social class of the criminal (Laws of Hammurabi), whereas in Egypt such social distinctions were expressly prohibited (Installation of Vizier, Eloquent Peasant, Ipuwer, Grave Stelae, etc.).

impressive doctrine of the immortality of the soul as the imperishable divine element in man.'

Again (p. 122)—

'The wide departure from Babylonian traditions is, however, particularly apparent in the spirit of the transformed Hebrew tradition which changes the Creator from a vanquisher of hostile forces, and from an artificer after the fashion of a human workman, into a spiritual Power, acting by his "Word" alone.'

And again (p. 128)—

'A greater contrast between the statement in the impressive Hebrew narrative of the creation of man in the image of God, as against the Babylonian view of man's being created for the sake of the gods, to provide temples and worshippers for them, can hardly be imagined.'

A study of the literary evidence would surely seem to show that this transformation was due, in part at least, to contact with Egypt. There are many other quotations from Egyptian writings that might be given in support of this conclusion. We will content ourselves with two very striking passages from one of the most recently deciphered documents¹—

' . . . men, for they are the flocks of God,
And for their pleasure did he create the heavens and the earth.
He stayed the greed of the waters :
He created the air to give life to their nostrils.
They are his own images proceeding from his flesh :
And for their pleasure he arises in the heavens.
He made for them grass and cattle,
Fowl and fish wherewith to nourish them.
He hath slain his enemies,
And hath destroyed his own children,
When they made rebellion against him.
He maketh the dawn for their pleasure,
And traverseth the sky that he may see them.
He hath raised for them a shrine to protect them ;
When they weep he heareth them.
From the beginning hath he made rulers for them,
That they might sustain and protect the weak.
Magic hath he given them, wherewith to avert the evil,
Dreams also by day and by night.
How hath he slain the froward of heart ?
Even as a man for his brother's sake smiteth his own son ;
For God knows every name.'

1. For Gardiner's translations, on which these renderings are based, see *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, I, pp. 34 and 27.

‘ For the Assessors who sit in judgement over the wicked, be very sure that they will not be lenient in that day, when those miserable ones are brought before them, and they fulfil their office. Woe unto that man who shall be accused, and whose conscience shall convict him of sin. Think not to gain oblivion by length of years, for a whole lifetime is in their sight but as a single hour. When a man reaches the haven of death it is not for him the end, for his deeds must still be brought up against him. Eternal is the existence hereafter ; a fool is he who shall take no account of it. But for him who shall attain the death of the righteous, he shall live hereafter as a God, stepping forth boldly even as one of the Lords of Eternity.’

A SIDELIGHT UPON TACITUS

By W. R. HALLIDAY

THE Younger Pliny was a humane and upright gentleman but hardly a sportsman. He is a little too consciously addicted to the virtues of self-improvement and self-help; his blood flows a trifle thinly. His contention that race meetings exist merely to supply the machinery for betting does not of itself condemn him, though one may doubt whether he was capable of feeling that generous excitement to be obtained from the spectacle of a contest of speed and skill which he grudgingly admits as an abstract possibility (ix. 6).¹ If he rightly appreciates silence at the covert side it is for reasons lamentably wrong-headed (*iam undique silvae et solitudo ipsumque illud silentium quod venationi datur magna cogitationis incitamenta sunt*—i. 6), and the man who is proud of taking his notebooks out hunting (i. 6, ix. 36) had better stay at home. No one, however, more generously than Pliny conceded that it takes all sorts to make a world. *Demus igitur alienis oblectationibus veniam, ut nostris impetremus* (ix. 17). There are indications too, that he was not insensitive to the delights of angling, though one would imagine it a bottom fishing of the most somnolent kind, most agreeable when pursued, not in a boat, but from his bedroom window on Lake Como (ix. 7).

Tacitus, whose writings are of a more generous vintage and fuller of body than the thin gracefulnesses of his friend, may well have had wider sympathies as a man. He at any rate was not above attending the races (ix. 23), and it seems a legitimate inference from *Letters* i. 6 and ix. 10 that he was a keen hunter of the boar. For these, the only specific references to boar-hunting known to me in the *Letters*, are both addressed to the historian. The first suggests that Pliny's deficiencies as a sportsman

1. With Pliny's comments upon racing it is interesting to compare the similar sentiments of a yet greater man of letters who had no natural inclination towards field sports, Edward Gibbon. 'I could not refuse attending my father in the summer of 1759 to the races at Stockbridge, Reading and Odiam, where he had entered a horse for the hunter's plate: and I was not displeased with the sight of our Olympic games, the beauty of the spot, the fleetness of the horses, and the gay tumult of the numerous spectators.' Gibbon, *Memoirs of My Life and Times, Miscellaneous Works* (London 1814), p. 118.

were a well-worn topic of raillery with his keener friend. Ridebis, et licet rideas. Ego ille quem nosti apros tres et quidem pulcherrimos cepi. Ipse? inquis. Ipse; non tamen ut omnino ab inertia mea et quiete discederem. The second is surely in answer to a letter upon some such excellent theme as 'why waste all your time upon reading and writing when you are in the country and can get some hunting as well?' Cupio praeceptis tuis parere; sed aprorum tanta penuria est ut Minervae et Dianae, quas ais pariter colendas, convenire non possit.

Any sidelight upon Tacitus the man is to be welcomed, and I do not think that the implication of these letters has been noticed. It seems to me in character and a pleasant trait to contemplate in the greater of the two friends. For I do not think that Tacitus ever followed the bad advice to put up notebooks with his flask and sandwiches upon a hunting morning, and I hope that he was too good a sportsman to make scarcity of game an excuse for indifference or, like Mamilianus (ix. 16), to measure the quality of his sport by the size of the bag.

PROBLEMS OF MEGALITHIC ARCHITECTURE IN THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN

BY E. THURLOW LEEDS

WITH PLATES I AND II

MEGALITHIC tomb-construction in the western Mediterranean area presents so many strongly marked local differences that at first sight it would appear an impossible task to establish any constant sequence of evolution applicable to all the regions composing that area. Close examination, however, suggests that, while no two regions present the same sequence, it is possible to detect the diffusion of influences from one region to another at different stages of that evolution. The effect of this is that a given region may be influenced from one area at one stage and from another at a later, and that at the same time one of the two contributory regions may also influence the other contributory area. The result is an apparently inextricable tangle, only to be explained by the shifting of migratory or, more probably, commercial intercommunication; for it has still to be proved that the area in question was not entirely occupied by settled populations during the period which covered the rise and decline of megalithic building. Indeed, if there is one theory less calculated than another to explain the complex phenomena of the megaliths of the western Mediterranean, it is that of racial migration on a wide scale, and almost equally unsatisfactory is that of diffusion of the megalithic idea from one common source, radiating in various directions, the further it travels from that source.

(1) *The Iberian Peninsula*.—In a recent paper published in *Archæologia*, vol. 70, I have endeavoured to show that the earliest known type of megalithic tomb in the peninsula is a polygonal passage-dolmen, often with remains of a tumulus which appears to have had merely an architectonic purpose. Starting from this polygonal passage-dolmen (as Pl. I, a),

abundant in central Portugal,¹ the evolution of megalithic architecture in the peninsula follows two distinct courses, in both of which, however, the tendency to complete concealment of the tomb (a well-nigh constant feature in that evolution wherever found) can be observed.

In the south of Portugal and southern Spain there appears a large series of tombs, either excavated in the slopes of hillocks or entirely concealed by tumuli. Many of these are developed directly from the polygonal passage-dolmen and a gradual transition can be traced from the use of megalithic slabs throughout to the substitution of small masonry, first in the corbelled bee-hive chambers and later in the walls of the corridor as well. Examples may be cited from Alcala (Pl. I, b and c), from the vicinity of Sevilla, Antequera and Los Millares (Pl. I, d). Alongside of these there occur tombs of elongated polygonal form, *e.g.* at Antequera and Los Millares (Pl. I, f and g), and others with rectangular chambers at the end of a long corridor, as at Antequera. The exact relation in point of time of these two last forms to the bee-hive corridor tombs is not quite easy to determine, but it may be surmised that the use of megaliths was retained as more suited to the construction of such forms.

A feature to be noticed is the addition, as at Los Millares, of a curved wall at the entrance of the passage of some of these monuments (Pl. I, e).

Although the large polygonal passage-dolmen is not unknown in northern Portugal, *e.g.* the dolmen of Barroso, near Viana do Castelo, it is in the main supplanted by the 'mamôas,' *i.e.* tumuli completely concealing a small polygonal chamber built of megaliths, sometimes with a rudimentary portico, representing the corridor of the large dolmens of central Portugal. These 'mamôas' occur with great frequency in northern Portugal and Galicia. In the latter region the chamber takes at times a rectangular form, which seems to be connected with an extensive series of similarly shaped monuments further east in the Basque district and in Catalonia. As evidence is forthcoming that these tombs at the two gates of the Pyrenees belong to the chalcolithic period,² it is highly

1. Simpler monuments of horseshoe form and with no corridor, in the vicinity of Pavia, Alentejo, which have recently been published (Vergilio Correia, *El Neolítico de Pavia*, Fig. 53), may prove to be a still earlier stage.

2. See *Archaeologia*, 70, and P. Bosch Gimpera, *Memòria dels treballs de 1915-1919* (*Investigacions arqueològiques de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*), p. 11 ff.

probable that the mixture of types in Galicia, belonging to the same period, is connected with the exploitation of mineral deposits (probably tin) in that district.

The close resemblance of these northern rectangular monuments, especially in the presence of an *allée couverte* type, suggests that their diffusion from southern France is connected with the extensive development of the copper industry in the early metal age in Spain.

(2) *Southern France*.—This region is richer in megalithic monuments than any other area of similar extent in western Europe. By far the greater number are of simple rectangular form with a small admixture of *allées couvertes*. Many of them belong, as at la Halliade, to a type suggestive rather of a multiple cist than of the grand *allées couvertes* of northern France, such as that at Bagneux.

A difficulty arising out of these southern French tombs is that for the most part they seem to be connected with a chalcolithic culture; so much so, that the only explanation of the phenomenon which so weighty an authority as the late Professor Émile Cartailhac could offer the writer in a recent conversation was, 'Il n'y a pas de néolithique dans le sud de la France.'¹ It is, however, hardly credible that of all the hundreds of dolmens in southern France none belong to a pure neolithic age. The occurrence of a few dolmens of polygonal and rounded outline in the western departments suggests the possibility of sea-borne influences emanating from Portugal, and it may be that the somewhat frequent *allées couvertes* in the same departments, mainly associated with neolithic tomb furniture, are an adaptation of the long corridors of the Portuguese monuments. The absence of early megalithic tombs in north-western Spain points to this sea-route as the original one, and thus the neolithic character of the grave-furniture does not necessarily indicate backwardness, but will bear the interpretation of an early date for the monuments themselves.

It is not perhaps without significance that it is in the western departments, *e.g.* Gironde and Vendée, that we meet with one of the early Bronze Age regions of France, both in respect of burials and also in depots of flat celts (Déchelette, *Manuel*, etc., II., i. pp. 93 and 141). From the Spanish copper-deposits the dolmen builders of southern France doubtless

1. This statement was of course only applied to the megalithic monuments.

derived their supplies of that metal. Since the main deposits were situated in south-eastern Spain, the main stream of intercourse between the two countries was diverted in the later days of megalithic building, and thus there appears in the department of Les Bouches-du-Rhône a series of subterranean corridor tombs, with lateral chambers and descending adit (Pl. I, h), closely allied to the numerous tombs of southern Spain.

(3) *Balearic Isles*.—The peculiar tombs known by the name of *naus* or *navetas*, built of corbelled masonry (Pl. I, i), though without exact parallel in the Spanish peninsula, possess features indicative of derivation from that quarter. They suggest an expression of the Spanish polygonal megalithic tombs, such as the Cueva da Menga and the like, in terms of masonry, the system of construction rendering the pillars of the Cueva da Menga unnecessary. Perhaps an intermediate stage is represented by certain megalithic constructions, sometimes subterranean, in which pillars are employed (Pl. I, k).¹

This interpretation of their origin seems to win corroboration in the existence of rock-cut tombs, one of which 'is exactly similar in plan to the Grotte des Fées in southern France.'² The other tombs like it were, as already mentioned, certainly prompted by communication between France and Spain.

The addition of a high façade, like that of the Sardinian *tombe di giganti*, represents a material advance, but the slightly concave line of the façade recalls that of some Spanish tombs and is repeated (see *infra*) in the Sardinian tombs. Indeed the *navetas* and the *tombe di giganti* are manifestly closely related, as are also the Balearic *talayots* with the Sardinian *nuraghi*.

(4) *Corsica*.—Megalithic building is represented by two groups of rectangular dolmens, one in the north, the other in the south of the island. We can hardly look elsewhere than to southern France for the origin of these megaliths in spite of the fact that no discoveries of relics are recorded to help towards an estimate of their relative chronology. From the number of dolmens known (thirteen in all), it would seem that

1. Antonio Vives, *El Arte Egeo en España*, p. 19 ff.

2. T. E. Peet, *Rough Stone Monuments*, p. 74.

the practice of megalithic building had but a short life in the island and never passed beyond the initial stages.

(5) *Sardinia*.—The evolution of the Sardinian monuments has been carefully traced by Dr. Duncan Mackenzie in a series of papers. As examples of early types may be cited the elliptical dolmens at Tanca (Pl. I, l), near Birori, and at s'Angrone, Abbasanta, and others rectangular in shape, as at Doli Fichima, near Alà dei Sardi, and Canigheddu s'Ena, near Tanca Regia, Abbasanta. It is noteworthy that the area in which the simpler types occur is principally highlands situated at no distance from the middle of the west coast of the island. Dr. Mackenzie thinks that the round types may be due to the interaction of round-hut building on a system of rectangular grave-construction. But, judging from the locality in which they occur, it would seem unnecessary to seek further for an explanation of the dual type than in the statement of M. Préchac (referred to by Dr. Mackenzie himself) that, 'les tumuli des Alpes-Maritimes ont parfois une chambre en forme de fer à cheval, parfois même une chambre ronde.'¹ The rectangular form is not wanting in this same department and in the adjacent department of Var.

Thus, as in Corsica, the initial impulses may well have come from southern France, but, whereas in Corsica the practice seems to have died in its infancy, in Sardinia it was destined to flourish exceedingly. The evolution from the simple types through such monuments as those of Sa Janna de su Lacca or Elcomis near Buddosò, su Coveccu in the south-west of the island (Pl. I, m), and Predalunga, near Austis, in which can be observed on the one hand the development of the apsidal end and of the outer wall of masonry, and on the other hand the lengthening of the cell, to the fully developed Giant's Tomb, such as Muraguada or Sa Prigionas with the lofty façade flanked by horn-like walls (cf. Pl. I, n), has been so clearly demonstrated by Dr. Mackenzie, that it is superfluous to dwell on it here. Dr. Mackenzie has also noted the close analogy of the frontal wall to that of some tombs of southern Spain, as at Los Millares, and the same feature in the Balearic Isles has already been cited.

Side by side with the Giants' Tombs and, as shown by the grave-furniture, in a large measure contemporaneous with them, there occur subterranean tombs, such as those of Anghelu Ruju.

1. *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XVIII, p. 166.

Types like Anghelu Ruju III. (Pl. I, o), though more complicated, appear to have been inspired from the same source, namely southern Spain, as were those of southern France and the Balearic Isles. They have the same descending stepped adit, the same lateral chamber or chambers to the corridor. It is only in the main chamber with its numerous radiating cells that a difference becomes evident, and even this feature is no more than a multiplication of the accessory cells found in such tombs as Alcalà 7 and Los Millares 20.

At some stage in the history of these rock-cut tombs influences possibly from Sicily or the mainland assert themselves in the substitution of a well-shaft entrance for the stepped adit. In this connection tomb XX at Anghelu Ruju is of great interest (Pl. I, p), since we have two tombs side by side with the chamber-wall at their point of contact cut through. One of these tombs has a stepped adit, the other a well-shaft entrance, this latter separated from the passage leading to the chamber by a slab with curved top, which in Taramelli's opinion 'recalls in embryo the form of the stela in front of almost all the *tombe di giganti* of the Bronze Age of Sardinia.'¹

In Sardinia is also found a type of rock-cut tomb composed usually of a curved porch with, in its simplest form, a circular chamber behind of *tomba a forno* type, as at Busachi (Pl. II, a).² Elliptical and rectangular chambers also occur, sometimes associated together in the same tomb, e.g. Busachi (Pl. II, b) and Ruinas,³ or the tomb may be rectangular throughout, as at Ruinas.⁴ From this source the system of tomb-construction seems to have spread to Sicily, where it appears first in the full Bronze Age (Pl. II, c).⁵

(6) *Italy*.—The megalithic tombs are, as is well known, confined to quite a restricted area in Apulia, near Lecce, Bari and in the Terra d'Otranto. They are either of *allée couverte* form, sometimes divided into cists by transverse slabs, not unlike the multiple cists of southern France, or they have a single chamber. Many of these have their cover-stone supported by pillars of stones, which must be regarded as the

1. *Mon. Ant.*, XIX, p. 464.

2. *Id.*, XI, p. 53, Fig. 33.

3. *Id.*, XI, p. 49, Fig. 31 and p. 53, Fig. 47.

4. *Id.*, XI, p. 54, Fig. 34.

5. Peet, *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy*, p. 454.

ultimate degradation of megalithic building. The date of this dolmenic type in relation to the *allée couverte* form is supplied by the fact that in one of the latter, at Bisceglie, near Bari, were found about twenty skeletons (along with a fragment of bronze and an amber bead), while the Lecce dolmens contained but a single burial.

One of the most marked phenomena of the close of the megalithic period in every European region where megaliths occur is the discard of communal in favour of individual burial, and the date of many dolmenic tombs with nothing much to distinguish them from simple dolmens of the earliest type in which communal burial has been established can only be proved by the spade. These Lecce monuments fall naturally into sequence as half-way from the *allées couvertes* to such a tomb as the *tomba a fossa* at Parco dei Monaci, Matera, from which a flanged celt, a riveted dagger-blade, and another with handle complete, all of bronze, are recorded.¹

It is impossible to regard the Italian megaliths as more than a late offshoot in the megalithic genealogical tree of the western Mediterranean.

(7) *Malta*.—The stupendous nature of the Maltese monuments, like Hal Tarxien, Hagiar Kim and others, seems at first sight to demand their allocation to a class apart. But this character is to be explained by the fact that we have no longer to deal with tombs, but with temples or even palaces. Their size and number makes either of these explanations of their purpose somewhat difficult of acceptance for such a limited area as the Maltese islands. But after making allowance for their size, the germs of their form with their succession of rooms, their lateral chambers, niches and the like, their method of construction with megaliths and corbelled masonry, and the practice of superimposing small masonry on the top of the shorter orthostats to bring them up to the same height as the taller blocks, are all to be found in the later megaliths of the Spanish peninsula. In Malta there is perhaps a blend of features, such as the elliptical form of the chambers, borrowed from the rock-cut tombs of Sicily (Pl. II, d).

In the hypogea like that of Hal Saflieni we are confronted with yet a further manifestation of the universal tendency to go to ground observ-

1. A. Mosso, *The Dawn of Mediterranean Civilisation*, 243; *Bull. Pall. It.*, XXVII, 34 and XXII, 289.

able throughout the whole of the megalithic culture of the western Mediterranean in its later stages, and their size is only what might be expected of a people that raised such imperishable monuments above ground as those mentioned above.

The theory of the distribution of megaliths advanced in the foregoing pages may be illustrated most simply by means of a sketch-map (Pl. II). The omission of all consideration of Africa is due to the fact that no discovery up to the present time furnishes any warrant for regarding the megalithic monuments of that region as in any way contemporaneous with the series under discussion. No evidence seems to exist for a date anterior to 1000 B.C. at the earliest.¹

Be that as it may, there are other considerations which seem to corroborate the surmise that in the diffusion of the megalithic idea the Iberian peninsula played a prominent part, if not indeed the leading part, with southern France in a secondary rôle. The two regions, inhabited by peoples very closely related, possibly identical, may have been inspired by the same megalithic idea at one and the same time, for it is a question whether the whole conception of megalithic building does not find expression in all races at some period, not necessarily the same in all cases, of their evolution. That, however, there was some diffusion of the idea within the limits of the western Mediterranean in early prehistoric Europe cannot be gainsaid. In this connection it will suffice to draw attention to one or two leading arguments for the view of the matter already advanced.

I. *Distribution of Beaker Pottery*.—It has now been established beyond all doubt that in south-central Spain, particularly in the Seville region, as evidenced by the discoveries of Mr. George Bonsor at Achebuchal, Gandul and elsewhere, what is known as beaker pottery was manufactured in large quantities, and that, while the particular place of origin of the beaker within the peninsula may be a little doubtful,² this area constituted as it were one of the principal *foci* of the beaker in Europe. The widespread distribution of the beakers from this region to other parts of

1. The position of the African monuments has been well brought out in a recent paper by Leo Frobenius entitled *Das kleinafrikanische Grabbau* (*Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, VIII, pp. 1 ff., particularly pp. 81-84).

2. On this point see *Archæologia*, 70, pp. 223, 226.

the peninsula is confirmed by numerous discoveries, as at Talavera de la Reina on the Tagus, at Palmella near its mouth and in the later Portuguese dolmens. The extension can be traced northwards to the vicinity of Madrid, to the provinces of Goria and Galicia, and to those of Navarra (in rectangular dolmens) and Gerona, and eastwards by finds near Granada and in a megalithic tomb at Los Millares.¹ Passing out of the peninsula we meet with beakers at la Halliade, a late multiple cist in the department of the Hautes-Pyrénées, and in the megalithic tomb at Castellet, Bouches-du-Rhône.² All these examples are in their zonal decoration and in their form indubitably of Spanish origin. The same holds good for pottery of this class from Mallorca, a fine example from tomb III at Anghelu Ruju, Sardinia, and another from Villafrati, south of Palermo, Sicily.

It is more than probable that the beakers found at Ca di Marco and Santa Cristina, North Italy, must also be traced back to a Spanish source, since one from the latter site at any rate holds true to the Spanish form, and all have the typical zonal decoration.

The very infrequency of beakers discovered in the western Mediterranean area outside the Spanish peninsula, coupled with their close relationship to the Spanish examples and their discovery at a succession of points along well-defined routes of communication, routes which doubtless came into prominence with the opening up of the copper industry in southern Spain, makes it exceedingly difficult to believe that they do not serve as finger-posts along the copper routes of the western Mediterranean. If then they indicate the trend of trade in the chalcolithic and early bronze periods, nothing is more probable than that these same routes brought from southern Spain the more complex systems of megalithic building, which appear in the islands and in southern France at the very time when metal was coming into common use. For it has to be remembered that the Sardinian *tombe di giganti* and subterranean tombs, the graves at Santa Cristina, and the tombs in the department

1. See A. Schulten, *Hispania* (Archaeological appendix by P. Bosch Gimpera), pp. 163-4. The term dolmen pottery often given to the beakers and allied wares is somewhat of a misnomer. For, except in a few isolated cases in Portugal and Spain, it does not occur in dolmens until Brittany is reached, and except in the Seville region, it appears as an exotic in subterranean tombs. In reality, as Hubert Schmidt has shown, it represents a culture apart from megalithic architecture. Even round Seville its occurrence in megalithic tombs is the result of the introduction of the latter into an area where beaker pottery was essentially at home.

2. *Matériaux*, 1877, p. 15, and *Congrès archéologique de la France*, 1876, Pl. III.

of Les Bouches-du-Rhône¹ all belong to a fully developed Copper Age and in some cases in Sardinia to the Bronze Age itself.

Only in Sicily is the beaker apparently associated with a neolithic culture. It seems, however, to be acknowledged that Sicily lagged behind, as compared with the mainland of Italy, in taking up the use of the newly discovered metal,² and it is certain that Malta did the same. Possibly it represented a conservatism among its more progressive neighbours, thus explaining a highly developed ceramic which there, as in backward Thessaly, attained a higher level in the neolithic than in the subsequent period. Sir Arthur Evans has recently compared one of the most striking designs at Hal Tarxien with a pattern of the Middle Minoan 2 period,³ that is to say long after the introduction of the use of copper into Crete. If the Maltese design was inspired from the Aegean, it only proves how strong the conservatism of the Maltese islands must have been.

II. One point that becomes clear from an intensive study of the archaeological material is that not until the metal industry in south-west Europe was in full swing is there substantive proof of any intercourse between the eastern Mediterranean and the Iberian peninsula. The apparent traces in Spain of such intercourse have been used in a manner which can only be described as loose in the extreme.

The ivory (African perhaps, but not necessarily Egyptian) of Los Millares, the turquoise (callais or ribeirite) and amethyst, both possible products of the peninsula, not requiring an eastern origin, prove nothing; the segmented glaze beads of El Argar were found with a long bronze sword, proof in itself of an advanced bronze age, and suggest nothing earlier than 1500 B.C. The beaked jugs of Sardinia and the marble figurine,⁴ which have been compared with Aegean examples, come, the former from the *nuraghi*, the latter from a rock-cut tomb with stepped adit and rectangular chamber with supporting pillars and lateral cells, both of which, it is admitted by Italian archaeologists, are contemporaneous with the *tombe di giganti*, themselves in a large measure assigned to a period when metal was in full use.

1. At Castellet gold, at Bounias bronze was found. (*Matériaux*, 1877, Pl. XIV, 2 and 3, and 1876, Fig. 203.)

2. Peet, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

3. *The Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 262 and 263, Figs. 194, k and 195.

4. *Mon. Ant.*, XI, Pl. XVIII, 16 and 18; XIX, p. 479, Fig. 54.

On the other side of the scales can be placed, apart from the copper and the beakers, silver beads and a jar-burial, from Sardinian rock-cut tombs, both of which appear in Spain in the fully developed El Argar culture long after the megaliths had passed into oblivion. The jar-burial belongs to the innermost chamber of the half of Anghelu Ruju XX *bis* with a well-shaft entrance, and from tomb III and others (*Mon. Ant.* XIX., p. 494) came pottery with a distinctive decoration of concentric semi-circles which in the department of Gard (one of the richest dolmenic regions of France) is found not in the dolmens but in early Bronze Age grottoes.

Only in the full bloom of the metal age did the inhabitants of the eastern and western Mediterranean come into real contact with one another. Previously intercourse stopped at the margin of the western basin, as represented by Sicily and Malta. Without more satisfactory proof of earlier intercommunication than is at present forthcoming, the origin of the megalithic architecture found around the European shores of the western Mediterranean must be sought in that area and in that area alone.

This conception of powerful influences emanating from the west by the routes indicated above seems to have made an impression in one way or another on most archaeologists who have interested themselves in the pre-history of the western Mediterranean eastward of the Iberian peninsula. Most markedly does this come out in papers treating of Sardinia. In his account of the tombs at Anghelu Ruju Taramelli draws attention to the indications of close relations with France on the one hand and with Spain on the other. He notes the absence of links with Sicily, *e.g.* painted pottery, and he adds, 'For the rest, the position of Sardinia, with its roadsteads and its natural harbours open to the western basin of the Mediterranean, seems to indicate it as a passage-bridge between the regions to the east and the western peninsula of the Mediterranean, a position which, some centuries later and for no brief period, determined its economic and political condition in a similar manner.'¹

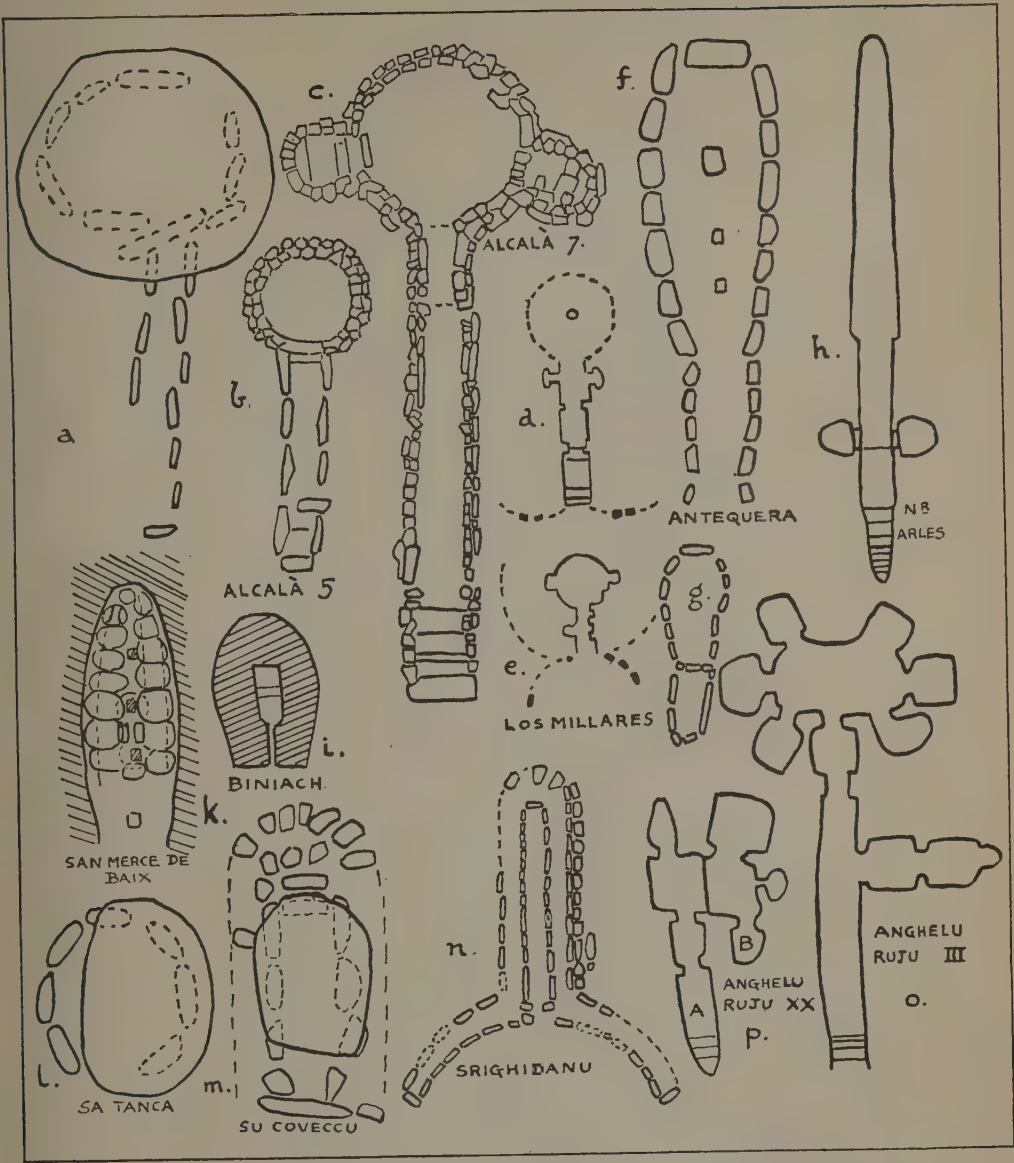
Others such as Peet seem to be haunted by similar questionings, since he quotes Mayr as showing Malta 'to belong to a cultural region which included Spain, North Africa, Sardinia, the Balearic Isles . . . in fact, the whole western Mediterranean.'²

1. *Mon. Ant.*, XIX, 524 ff.

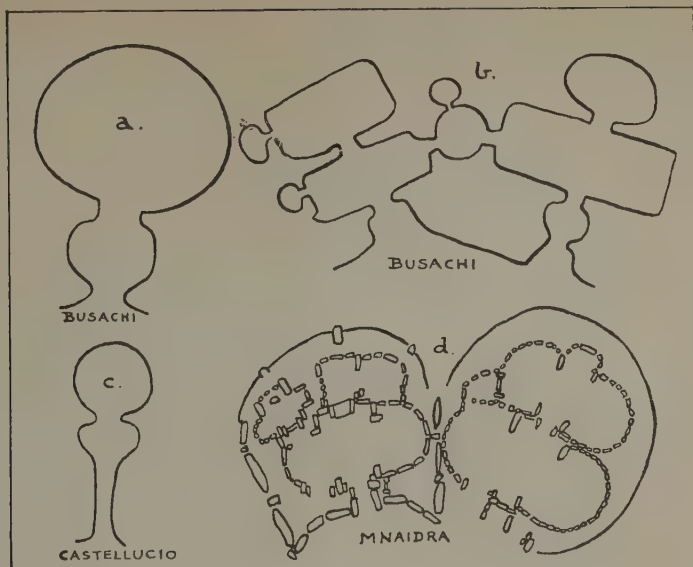
2. *B.J.R.*, V, 141 ff.; see also *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy*, p. 282.

But in all cases one can detect some trace of the latent oriental attraction, an attitude one is inclined to attribute largely to a want of full knowledge and appreciation of the Spanish material. Even archaeologists in Spain have had their vision dimmed in the past by the *mirage orientale*, but a tendency to struggle out of the darkness of the old tradition is beginning to assert itself, and it is becoming more and more evident that it is as true of prehistoric Spain (when not under the thrall of armed invaders) as of later Spain that she 'is not an European country and never has been.'¹ She gave freely of her products and it was her products which finally attracted other peoples to her shores.

1. *The Nineteenth Century and After*, 1921, p. 620.



TYPES OF MEGALITHIC TOMBS.



1. TYPES OF MEGALITHIC STRUCTURES.

2. ROUTES OF DIFFUSION OF MEGALITHS AND BEAKERS.

ASIA MINOR, SYRIA AND THE AEGEAN

By C. LEONARD WOOLLEY

WITH PLATE III

IN the following paper I venture upon generalisations which may appear unduly rash. It is true that the archaeological evidence which I adduce is by no means all that could be desired ; so little excavation has been done in Syria and Asia Minor that there is little material as yet to draw on, and I have not availed myself even of all that might be used. In the course of my own work I have grown more and more convinced of the importance in the eastern Mediterranean of a factor which was neither Egypt nor the Aegean, in the narrower sense of the word, and, perhaps by a process of elimination, I have learnt to look to Asia Minor for the solution of a great deal that is hard to understand in the development of near Eastern art. There is nothing very original in this, except that I have perhaps gone rather further than previous writers ; but anthropologists have, on different grounds, arrived at very much the same views, with which new archaeological evidence agrees, though it cannot yet be said to prove them. Some of this new evidence, derived from the British Museum's expedition to Carchemish, is still unpublished, and I can do no more than refer to it by anticipation ; some is quoted fully ; a good deal more is probably to be found in museums and in publications which a field worker has small leisure to study.

The earliest pottery known to us of Central and South Syria falls naturally into two classes according as it is plain or painted.

The unpainted wares need cause us little difficulty, for they obviously belong to the Eastern Mediterranean cycle common to prehistoric Egypt, to Cyprus, and to Crete. On all the early Palestinian sites hitherto excavated, and in the aeneolithic (?) strata of Jebeil (Byblos), the only Phoenician site from which early material is as yet forthcoming, a rather coarse black or grey ware, often burnished, often decorated with combed or incised patterns, is associated with ledge handles degenerating into waved ribbon handles and into cord ornament in relief, which bring it at

once into relation with the familiar Egyptian types. Jebeil also produces a burnished brown or black pottery with rectilinear designs of deeply-cut white-filled incised lines which, more than any other from the Aegean, recalls the E.M.I wares of Crete. Moreover the characteristic black-topped burnished red bowls of Egypt are paralleled by three examples from Syria, one found in the lowest stratum of Mount Ophel¹ and two from the Bekâ'a and Batrun respectively.² The material is still scanty, but it is sufficient to show that in some respects at least, and in certain areas, the earliest culture of Syria was connected if not identical with that of contemporary Egypt and the nearer Aegean islands; the evidence, it will be noticed, comes from the Palestinian lowlands, *i.e.* the Shephelah and the Esdraelon valley (Gezeh, Lachish, Beth Shemesh, Taanach, Tell el Mutesallim), from the valley of Coele-Syria and from the Phoenician coast: only one example comes from the mountain area, and that is from the old culture-centre of Judaea, Mount Ophel, where perhaps we should most expect to find mixed influences at work. Both in their character and by their distribution these wares would illustrate the view held by anthropologists that peoples of the Mediterranean type, who were responsible for the first civilisation of the Nile valley, and formed the earliest population of Cyprus, Crete, and most, if not all, of the Aegean islands, also inhabited the coast regions of Palestine and Syria, though they do not appear to have penetrated into the mountainous region beyond.³

The origin of painted pottery seems, on the contrary, to come from the north and east.

At Carchemish and at Sakje-geuzi⁴ we find in what it is for the present safest to call the aeneolithic strata, a hand-made painted ware with designs chiefly geometric but sometimes naturalistic or conventional, executed in a varnish-like paint, red or sepia-black, on a light slip ground. Identical wares are found at Tell Khalaf, further to the east (examples in the British Museum); a somewhat similar though not identical type occurs at Susa, at Anau, and at Muhammedabad near Askhabad on the Afghan frontier (examples in the British Museum); various sites in Asia Minor have yielded fragments which carry on the same tradition, and

1. Vincent, *Jérusalem sous la terre*, Pl. XI, 1. This was actually published as an imported specimen of Egyptian fabric, but in view of the other examples must be regarded as local.

2. Woolley in *Syria*, II, 3, p. 179.

3. Cf. Peake, H., in *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, XLVI, p. 158.

4. Carchemish material not yet published: for Sakje-geuzi see *Annals*, I, Pl. XLVIII.

these again connect unmistakably with some, though not with all, of the neolithic wares of Thessaly.

I obtained this year for the Ashmolean Museum the remarkable vase figured on Pl. III, Fig. 1. It was found at Keultepe near Caesarea in Cappadocia, associated with, and according to the peasants who unearthed it, actually containing Cappadocian cuneiform tablets of the type which by general consent dates from about the twenty-third century B.C.; it is therefore the only dated example of the kind yet known. The vase is hand-made: the whole upper part of the body is covered with a coat of dark red-brown paint (*Urfirnis*), while in a rectangular reserved field there is a geometric design in sepia on a ground of creamy white slip. *Urfirnis* ware, and the three-colour geometric ornament, are common to early Asiatic sites; Carchemish and Sakje-geuzi have yielded it in plenty¹; fragments from Boghazkeui and Kara Euyuk² virtually reproduce our Keultepe example; similar fragments come from other Cappadocian sites, Bolus, Zille, Karayakub, etc.³ The form too, the *Schnabelkanne* with long and generally V-shaped trough spout, is essentially an Asia Minor type which we find commonly at all periods, distributed from Troy in the west to Cappadocia,⁴ and in the Aegean derivatives of Asia Minor fabrics. The Keultepe pot is comparatively late in date, nor do any of the other Asia Minor examples quoted above necessarily antedate it: but it shows a development of technique such as demands a long history behind it. Of the local painted ware which did precede it we can as yet really say nothing: perhaps it may have come a good deal closer to the Carchemish aeneolithic types and earlier still to the much more primitive products of southern Syria.

At Jebeil, and in Palestine, there is found in the early strata a painted pottery which is far ruder and simpler than that of the north: the pigment is not the same, or at least is not worked up in the same way, and the geometric designs are far less developed, so that it would be easy to exaggerate unduly its resemblance to the wares *e.g.* of Carchemish; but there seems to be a connection none the less. It stands between the northern wares and those of pre-dynastic Egypt, but has less in common with the latter, which themselves seem to be due to a foreign influence

1. *Annals*, I, Pl. XLVIII.

2. Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoce*, Pl. XIV, 4.

3. Myres in *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, XXXIII, Pl. XL.

4. *Cf.* Chantre, Pl. VII, 1.

that ceased to be exerted after the consolidation of the Nile kingdoms by the dynastic kings. That there were northern connections in southern Syria is shown by the earliest bronze implements found there; for the most part these are of Mediterranean (Cypriote) type,¹ but the Western Asiatic axe type with spectacle perforations in the blade finds its way right down into Egypt,² and another axe type also procured at Jerusalem, but said to come from Ashkelon, is closely paralleled (Pl. III, Fig. 2) by examples from Tell Khalaf in the north.

Allowing then for local differences such as are inevitable at a very early period and over a very wide area, and are the more to be expected when the material from which we have to judge is not by any means always contemporaneous, we have a hand-made pottery distinguished by geometrical designs painted in two or three colours, which from the highlands of Persia extends northwards and is found along the whole of the east-by-west mountain land from the Afghan border and Russian Turkestan through Kurdistan to the Amanus, with an offshoot along the range of Lebanon into the hill country of Judaea, is common in Cappadocia, occurs (necessarily as yet but sparsely) in western Anatolia, and penetrates into Thessaly. In Thessaly it is possible to see a combination of two totally independent traditions. There is indeed, especially at Dhrachmani and Tsangli, a painted three-colour ware with white slip and geometric motives (cross-hatching, zig-zags, etc.) which is extremely like early wares from Carchemish and from Asia Minor; but shapes are different, and there is side by side with the above types (especially in the Lianokladhi wares, black on red and black on drab slip) a whole range of curvilinear and spiral ornament which is totally un-Asiatic and would seem to be due to an intrusion into Thessaly of the Tripolje culture from Bessarabia.

Thus the painted wares are distributed along the great arc of hill or high-lying plateau which reaches from Eastern Europe to Persia, and this corresponds with the distribution of the eastern branch of *homo alpinus* whom, within these limits, we may call Asianic man. He is at home in the mountains and high plateaus of Asia Minor, extends southward along Lebanon into the Judaeian uplands (whence perhaps he

1. The American University Museum possesses many Palestinian examples of Cypriote type: cf. Myres and Ohnefalsch Richter, *Cat. Cyprus Museum*, Pl. III, Macalister, *Gezer*, Pl. LX, etc.; and for Phoenicia v. *Syria*, loc. cit. Fig. 4, p. 180.

2. Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, p. 9, and Figs. VI, 169, LXXIV, 170. I recently obtained in Jerusalem a specimen said to have come from Beersheba.

invaded Egypt in pre- or proto-dynastic times¹), and eastwards to what limits we do not know. In Syria we should then have, as our archaeological evidence goes to show, a mixed population with Mediterranean man on the coastal plains and Asianic or Alpine man in the hill country, the two developing a hybrid race along the fringes of their respective areas, but each keeping touch with their main stock, Mediterranean man with Egypt and the nearer Aegean, Alpine man with Asia Minor.

This state of things was largely modified by two events which occurred, perhaps more or less simultaneously, in the latter half of the third millennium B.C. Driven probably by a prolonged season of drought to seek new pastures, the Semites from Arabia invaded South Syria and the Phoenician coast. The process was a gradual one, wave following wave—in the wanderings of Abram we see one of its closing incidents—but by 2000 B.C. the south country was definitely Semitised. Of course a large part of the older population must have remained, seeking in the less fertile hills refuge from the newcomers: the Lebanon proper was perhaps but little affected; in the Judæan mountains, where even at the time of the Hebrew invasion the peoples were still remarkably mixed, there were in 2000 B.C. 'Hittites' distinguishable alike from the Semitic settlers and from the Mediterranean Hivites, and in Hammurabi's time a king of Goyim, Tidal (an unmistakably Asianic name, like Tudkhal), can, as subject-ally of the Great King, take part in raids as far south as the Dead Sea plain. Some of the older established Asianic place-names to be found in Palestine² may go back to the time when Alpine man was at home in the country. But in spite of local survivals the Semitic invasion had one definite result which Palestinian excavations have made very clear: the country occupied by them was cut off, politically and culturally, from its neighbours to the north and to the south-west; politically it became dependent on southern Mesopotamia, culturally, after the first changes brought by the newcomers, it did little more than stagnate, being too distant to derive much inspiration from Babylonia and too alienated to borrow much from the north; from Egypt and the Aegean it exists wholly apart. Autran's theory of a Minoan civilisation flourishing between the twenty-sixth and the twelfth centuries B.C. along the Syrian coast has no archaeological support whatever; excavations

1. Elliot Smith, *Ancient Egyptians*, p. 122.

2. M. Autran has pointed out some of these in his *Phéniciens*, and will I believe further elaborate the point in his forthcoming *Tarkondemos*.

in the interior of Palestine, and as close to the sea as is Gezer, definitely exclude such a view, nor has Ashkelon as yet produced anything to support it; of the archaeology of the Phoenician towns proper we know lamentably little, but in all the mass of objects which native plunderers have found there is nothing on record that would bespeak such a civilisation, and Weil's ingenious theory of Minoan island-factories at Tyre and Sidon has yet to be proved.¹ In the present state of knowledge the only safe assumption is that made above, which is certainly true of the greater part of Palestine and is probably so of Phoenicia. Only after 1550 B.C. did the expansion of the new Empire under the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty bring South Syria once more into dependence on Egypt and, through Egyptian imperial trade, into some degree of touch with the Aegean.

The north was also affected by a Semitic expansion, but this apparently of a different sort, taking the form not of conquest and settlement but of the establishment of trading colonies, as at Keultepe, depending not on Babylonia but on Assyria. But important though this connection² was, both for its cultural influences and for the eastern orientation which it gave to Anatolian politics, it seems to have been largely counteracted at an early date by pressure from a different quarter.

The painted pottery which, in Cyprus, appears for the first time at the beginning of the Bronze Age is admittedly due to a foreign influence which is just as clearly Asianic (Myres, *loc. cit.*). The shapes of vessels are less affected, many of the traditional types being retained, but amongst the introductions we have the long and narrow slanting spout and the triangular 'wishing-bone' bowl handle, both of which are Asia Minor types,³ and the colour-scheme and the geometrical designs leave no doubt upon the subject.

In Crete the earliest pottery is, as has been remarked, of Mediterranean type, but even as early as late E.M.1 painted pottery begins to make its appearance and with E.M.2 is common. The connection of Crete with Egypt was so strong that Evans, in his presidential address to the British Association, 1916, postulates an actual invasion into the island of the older Egyptian element in Early Minoan times, and this, together with

1. *Bull. de l'Inst. franç. d'arch. orientale*, XVI, 1919, 'Les ports antéhelléniques.'

2. Contenau, *Rev. d'Assyriologie*, VI, ii. 97, makes this influence Sumerian, and conceives of 'une période très ancienne où s'élabore, de l'Elam au monde égéen, une culture générale, par beaucoup de points commune.'

3. The latter is common in Cappadocia, cf. Chantre, Pl. IX.

the native genius, was able to give a wholly original stamp to what was really an invention borrowed from the Asiatic coast : later on, the Asianic strain was to be reinforced, but even at an early date parallels in pottery and in other things are sufficiently close to suggest ' a racial connection of the Mycenaean aborigines of Crete with the primitive population in Caria and Pisidia and with the older elements in Lycia.' ¹

The same thing is true in a greater or a less degree of the other Aegean islands and of the mainland of Greece ; from the early days of the metal-using age there appears a painted pottery whose Anatolian affinities are obvious and can only be explained by an immigration of Asianic peoples following perhaps on an initial opening up of the archipelago by merchants and prospectors of the copper trade. A good illustration of this is afforded by a sauce-boat from Naxos ; ² the upper part of the body is covered with the red-brown *Urfirnis* varnish, and round the rim runs a band of geometric ornament in sepia on a creamy white slip ; in the quality of the pigments, the motives and arrangement of decoration, and in technique the vase is identical with our Keultepe example. It is dated to group 3 of the Early Helladic, immediately preceding the first appearance of Minyan ware, *i.e.* to a period apparently parallel to the transition in Crete from M.M.1 to M.M.2 ; it is therefore later than the Cretan wares discussed above and might well be strictly contemporary with the Keultepe jug. Wace and Blegen ³ remark that ' further exploration and study will probably show that these three divisions, Early Helladic, Early Cycladic, and Cretan Early Minoan ware, are all branches of one great parent stock, which pursued parallel but more or less independent courses ' ; this parent stock must be the Asianic grafting itself on to the aboriginal Mediterranean, and the process began, in some cases, as early as late E.M.1, but the course pursued in the different areas was not wholly independent in so far as connection was maintained with the Anatolian mainland throughout the Early Minoan period and was strongest at that period's close, when indeed it is so strong as to suggest an actual diffusion into the Aegean of Asianic peoples. If, as seems probable, the ' Early Hittite ' period in North Syria begins about this time, we might connect with the Aegean phenomena the fact that at Carchemish the old local Alpine culture is suddenly, with the start of the Early Hittite period,

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1. Evans, *Address to Brit. Ass. Anthropol. Section*, Liverpool, 1896.
 2. *Annual of Brit. School at Athens*, XXII, p. 177.
 3. *Annual*, *loc. cit.*

reinforced by an Anatolian element which becomes only more pronounced as time goes on. The Hittite invasion of Babylonia at the beginning of the second millennium B.C. might be the aftermath of this general expansion southwards.

Arguing for the most part from different premises Peake¹ attributes the sudden rise of a new development of culture in Crete at the beginning of M.M.I, 'accompanied by some movements of peoples and the arrival of broad-headed people in the east of the island, apparently from Asia Minor,' together with a similar sudden development in the Cyclades, and the fall of Hissarlik II, to an invasion of Asia Minor by Nordic steppe-folk from South Russia. If that be so the two events mentioned above as modifying the position in Syria in the latter half of the third millennium B.C. are curiously similar, the Semitic invasion of South Syria being paralleled by a Nordic invasion of Asia Minor: the result of the former was, as we have seen, virtually a negative one, in that South Syria is left to stagnate in isolation; the result of the latter was to spread a racial stock native to Asia Minor over North Syria, the Aegean islands, and parts of the Greek mainland, and for the next thousand years these territories were to develop cultures which however divergent yet betray their relationship and a measure of interdependence.²

Very many points of resemblance between these different local cultures have been pointed out by various writers and are too familiar to need repetition; here I would only point out a few new or less-known instances. In *Annals*, VI, Pl. XXIV, I published a marble figurine from Serrin (on the Euphrates N.E. of Aleppo) clearly related to the Amorgos type which appears in the islands with the beginning of the Bronze Age: from the Aleppo district come two more (Fig. 3 a, b) now in the collection of M. Poche of Aleppo, to whom I am indebted for permission to publish them. While less strictly adhering to the conventional type they have the curious back-sloping head of the Amorgos group (J. L. Myres has suggested to me that this might conceivably be a primitive attempt to portray the Armenoid skull form) combined with the steatopygous feature common to Egypt, Malta, Crete and Thessaly, and belonging perhaps to

1. *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, XLVI, p. 169.

2. Cf. Contenau, *Les Cylindres Syro-Hittites* in *Rev. d'Assyriologie*, IV, pp. 73-74. 'Il n'est donc pas téméraire de concevoir que, si l'art sumérien a laissé des traces si profondes en Chaldée, Elam, Assyrie du nord, monde hittite, Chypre et même la Crète, c'est qu'à un certain moment ces territoires ont été habités par des populations à affinités ethniques.'

an earlier date. From the Aleppo district again comes an unusual form of steatite cylinder-seal (Fig. 4),¹ shaped as a double cone, not pierced, and engraved at the two ends, which is a more elaborate example of a type assigned by Dussaud² to the Early Minoan 2 period in Crete; other early and simple seal-forms from Syria and the Aegean are almost identical³ (Fig. 12) and a few of the late and elaborately worked Hittite cylinders are wholly Cretan in subject and in style, *e.g.* Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, 185, 186. The Hittite bronze figurines of deities with tall conical caps are paralleled by examples from the islands and from the mainland of Greece (Ath. Mus., 14494 and 2631, from Mycenae); the same head-dress with the typically Hittite horns reappears on a vase-fragment from the third shaft grave at Mycenae (Ath. Mus., 123-4) and even the Hittite pig-tail is found on a Mycenaean ivory representing a woman holding a fly-whisk—another Hittite attribute (Ath. Mus., 2473, 2475). Aleppo has produced gold beads, in the shape of a short tube encrusted with minute pellets, exactly like those found outside the shaft graves at Mycenae, and at Tiryns. In *Carchemish*, vol. ii. I publish (Pl. XXVIII) steatite carvings which though of mainland manufacture show distinct Aegean affinities, and point out (p. 46) the remarkable similarity that exists between the fortifications of the Middle Hittite town and those of Phylakopi.

That anything like a uniform civilisation extended over Asia Minor, North Syria, the islands and the eastern mainland of Greece, is of course patently not the case; but a certain racial element common in varying proportions to all these districts does seem to have produced certain common features, although each cultural group, exposed to different external influences, pursued in the main different lines of progress. The Khatti of the Halys basin show, naturally, but few points of resemblance to their distant relatives in Knossos: in Lycia and Caria, on the other hand, we can safely assume a mixed culture akin to both Minoan and Hittite;⁴ Cilicia, of which we know virtually nothing, must have had fairly intimate dealings with Cyprus; to North Syria there filtered across the Amanus certain products and certain more or less direct influences of the Aegean, but Carchemish was an outpost of Boghazkeui and faced east

1. Now in the Ashmolean Museum.

2. *Civilisations préhelléniques*, Fig. 19, p. 40.

3. Compare Blinkenburgh *Antiquités pré-mycéniennes* (in *Mém. d'Antiqu. du Nord*, 1896), Fig. 12, and Evans, *Cretan Pictographs*, p. 59, Fig. 50, or Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, No. 127 with the Mycenaean seal, Ath. Mus., 1196.

4. *V. infra*, and cf. Hall, *Aegean Archaeology*, p. 229.

rather than west. After 1550 B.C. the Egyptian conquests to some extent opened up Syria to Aegean commerce, so that imported objects from the islands, and especially from Cyprus, begin to be common in Palestinian tombs, but this indirect trade influence was largely confined to South Syria and even so its importance can easily be exaggerated; as regards North Syria and Asia Minor it may well be that the hindrance to commerce caused by the Egyptian wars and later on the new openings afforded by the alliance with Thotmes III weakened rather than reinforced the connections between those regions and the Aegean.

After the great migrations of 1197 B.C. the whole Near East takes on a different aspect. In Greece and the islands, the Mycenaean civilisation had broken down and disappears; in the Halys basin, the Khatti empire is wiped out; but Carchemish takes on a new lease of life, and a 'Mycenaean' civilisation spreads over the whole of Syria.

In Cyprus the Iron Age, which starts about 1200 B.C., is marked by a complete break with Bronze Age traditions. With the introduction of the new metal, cremation takes the place of inhumation, cylinder seals are given up in favour of button or conoid seals of Asia Minor types, and the pottery changes altogether. Henceforward clay vessels are wheel-made, the shapes are new, *e.g.* the krater, the kylix and the round- or barrel-bodied oenochoe, three-colour decoration is commonly employed, and there are two main motives of ornament, both new, *i.e.* compass-drawn concentric circles, and rectilinear geometric patterns often composed in panels or 'metopes.' For want of foreign parallels, the change has generally been assumed to be due to normal local development, but this is certainly not the case.

The occupation of Palestine by the Aegean Purusati stands out as a documented historical fact. Whether they came from Crete or *via* Crete from the Anatolian mainland, these Philistines introduced into South Syria a sub-Mycenaean culture which at once invites comparison with Cyprus. The hemispherical bowls with black ladder designs on a matt white ground, common in Palestinian sites, are characteristically Cypriote of the Bronze Age—though it must be remembered that Cyprus derived its painted bronze-age wares from Asia Minor; some are actual importations from Cyprus, others are of local fabric; some date from before 1200 B.C. and must be due to pre-Philistine trade; others are later, and it would appear that the type survived in Palestine for some time after it had fallen into disuse in Cyprus itself. The late stirrup-vases and

oenochae with bands of red-brown varnish paint on white, are Mycenaean, *i.e.* Aegean not Cypriote in origin, and had only appeared in Cyprus after the collapse of Crete. The peculiarly 'Philistine' wares with three-colour decoration of 'metopes' and figure-subjects recall in some respects Cypriote pottery of the Iron Age, but are far more intimately related to certain less-known wares of Asia Minor.¹ A direct dependence of Philistine ceramic art on Cyprus would be difficult to explain in view of the non-Cypriote origin of the Philistines; the evidence for it is more apparent than real, and though the connection cannot be denied altogether it must not be too strongly emphasised.

At Carchemish after 1200 B.C. we find a new race installed, who have introduced iron, burn their dead instead of burying them, and in place of the plain or ring-burnished pottery of the Middle Hittite period use types which recall at once those of iron-age Cyprus.² In the graves and in the town ruins occur a few small red oenochae, round-bodied or barrel-shaped, with compass-drawn concentric circles in black, which are perhaps imports from the island. But the vast bulk of the painted wares, including all the larger vessels, have black-on-white rectilinear geometric designs often of the 'metope' style. In spite of first appearances, these pots are not Cypriote; they are of local make, the ornament differs in many if not in most details from the Cypriote, and several vase-forms which are most characteristic of Cyprus are entirely wanting at Carchemish. These late settlers at Carchemish were assuredly not Cypriotes. The fact that they used Hittite hieroglyphs for their inscriptions, retained with improvements the canons of old Hittite art and represented on their reliefs many of the old Hittite gods, shows them to be of Asianic origin; their Aegean connections, which are numerous, incline one to place their former home in the south or south-west of Asia Minor.³ Certain facts, *e.g.* that their foot-soldiers wore an armour curiously like that of the fifth century Athenian hoplite,⁴ would point to Caria, whence the hoplite's armour was admittedly derived. The exact spot whence they came does not matter for the present discussion: the important point is that we have here a people undoubtedly of Asia Minor origin who show distinct traces

1. Cf. Chantre, Pl. XI, 1.

2. *Annals*, VI, Pl. XXVI, c, d.

3. I differ here from von Lichtenburg (*Einflüsse der ägäischen Kultur*, p. 22-23), who would bring in the Late Hittite Mushki, c. 1100 B.C., from the Caucasus area, and, less markedly, from Hogarth, who (*Hittite Seals*, p. 10) would derive them from Cilicia.

4. *Carchemish*, I, Pl. B.2, B.3.

of Aegean tradition and in some respects approximate closely to the people of iron-age Cyprus.

In Phoenicia a similar phenomenon appears. We have cremated burials,¹ certainly not a Semitic custom. We find, as at Carchemish, clay horsemen and zoömorphie vases of 'Cypriote' type: these are particularly common in the north, *e.g.* about Amathus, but go right down into Aegean Philistia. The bronze figurines of Aegean type, already described, begin early, but many must belong to the Iron Age, for the type continues in vogue, with gradual modifications, into the classical period. In *Syria*, II., pp. 177 *seq.*, I publish a limited number of sub-Mycenaean vases and bronzes (including one tomb group) found in the Lebanon, and a long series of later painted vessels of the Phoenician Iron Age whose relationship with the Cyprus wares is immediately obvious. It is a peculiar thing that this later pottery is all of one type: the decoration (apart from one or two cases when it consists of plain horizontal bands of colour only) always takes the form of compass-drawn concentric circles, generally black on red: there is not a single example of the rectilinear geometric ornament such as in Cyprus accompanies the concentric circles and at Carchemish predominates. A few vases (always of small size) may well be importations, most are certainly of local fabric. Here again we have evidence of an Aegean people, and again a relation with Cyprus which is curiously one-sided.

Both types of pottery decoration, the rectilinear and the concentric circles, are found in Asia Minor. Unfortunately we know very little about the earlier antiquities of that country and particularly little about Caria and Lycia. But in Caria sub-Mycenaean pottery has been found, and also concentric-circle wares like the Cypriote: in S.W. Pisidia it is stated that the type of painted pottery most usual on the old mounds is 'the red Cypriote ware of the early Iron Age with concentric circles.'² 'It is common on many of the Cappadocian and Galatian sites';³ and it is found as far away as the Dazimonitis plain in S.W. Pontus.⁴ At Gordion the German excavators record 'local imitations of Cyprus iron-age ware, black on red, with concentric circles, wavy bands, spirals, hatchings, etc.,' which are local indeed but, late though they are, are

1. At Rashidieh near Tyre; Maeridy, *Revue Biblique*, 1904, p. 565.

2. *Annual of Brit. School at Athens*, XVI, p. 100.

3. *J.H.S.*, XIX, pp. 34 ff.; some of the wares he alludes to seem to be earlier in date.

4. Anderson, *Studia Pontica*, I, p. 71.

certainly not imitated from Cyprus so far as the spirals are concerned, and sherds with the characteristically Asia Minor three-colour decoration.¹ Nothing in the history of Cyprus would lead us to suppose a pottery export trade so widespread, or a cultural influence so profound, all over Asia Minor and Syria : but conclusive evidence the other way is afforded by a sherd found by Chantre at Boghazkeui : the vase was of red clay with black-bordered panels of a pinkish cream slip whereon are compass-drawn concentric circles (the impressed dot in the centre is clearly visible) in dark red : the pot was *hand-made*. Another fragment from the same site has concentric circles drawn free-hand in black on a drab slip. Chantre's Boghazkeui and Kara Euyuk sherds are of many dates : they include *Urfurnis* and three-colour pieces of our Keultepe style, black on white-slip wares closely resembling those of bronze-age Cyprus,² wheel-made spiral-burnished bowls resembling Middle Hittite types from North Syria, and wheel-made painted platters like our earlier Late Hittite examples ; the hand-made vase with concentric circles does not belong at the end of the series, and nothing in the series is necessarily later than the beginning of the Iron Age in Cyprus ; there can be no question that here we have, with a more primitive technique, the precursor of the Cypriote wheel-made vases similarly decorated.

The conclusion is that when Cyprus got its iron (which can only have come from the rich mines of South Asia Minor) the same people who brought in the metal and the practice of cremation introduced also two new types of decorated pottery ; and as of these two types one, almost exclusively, is found at Carchemish and the other, exclusively, in Phoenicia, both of which countries were invaded at the same time by iron-using tribes, we must assume that Cyprus was invaded by two tribes acting in concert, or by a tribe which, living originally between the other two, had learnt the fashions of both its neighbours : once more Cyprus manifests itself not as a centre for invention but 'as a transmarine outlier and a receptacle of obsolescent phases.'³

If then after 1200 B.C. Syria is 'Aegeanised' that is so, thanks not to the 'Aegeans' as we know them, but to the peoples of Asia Minor ; and if these were able to diffuse a culture which has generally been regarded

1. *Jahrb. des K. D. Arch. Inst.*, Ergänzungshefte 5, 1904, p. 179, Figs. 161, 162 and p. 182, Fig. 166 ; none of the wares are earlier than about the eighth century B.C.

2. Myres in *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, XXXIII, p. 389.

3. Myres, *loc. cit.*

as the peculiar product of the Greek islands, it is because these peoples were akin in some measure to the islanders, had played a part in forming their culture and had never stood wholly aloof from it; at least along the S. and S.W. coasts of Anatolia the connection must have been fairly close throughout,¹ and we have yet to learn which contributed most to the other.

Perhaps the main objection that will be raised against the foregoing is the apparently arbitrary assumption of an 'Aegean' colonisation of Phoenicia. I have published in *Syria* the material discoveries that led me to this view: it might be as well here to show that the view is not really in conflict with literary sources. I do not agree that the Phoenicians were other than a Semitic race, settled on the Syrian coast since the third millennium B.C.; I only hold that after 1200 B.C. these were leavened by a minority of conquering invaders, an iron-using 'Aegean' folk from Asia Minor, who, inheriting themselves the sea-faring traditions and the trade connections of the now extinct Aegean (island) empire, gave a new impetus and a new direction to Phoenician business. Under their leadership the Phoenicians were able to take over the trade of the Mediterranean, but only on Aegean lines (that is why the earliest Phoenician colonies date from after 1200 B.C. and produce when excavated only sub-Mycenaean remains) and as being themselves Aegean. In time the ruling stock 'Semitised' and disappeared, but not before the new population of Greece and the islands, when the cataclysms of 1400-1200 B.C. had made shipwreck of tradition, had transferred to the Phoenicians, as the last of the Aegean folk, many legends to which even the alien lords of the Phoenicians had but a very shadowy claim. It is inconceivable that the Greeks should have traced back to a Semitic stock the origin of so much of their religion, their civilisation, even the founding of their greatest cities and their princely houses²: but it is intelligible that they should have done so if to them the Semites of the Syrian coast stood, thanks to their ruling class, for the heirs and lineal descendants of the Aegean heroes to whom the legends properly attached.

I would risk the suggestion that the conquerors of Phoenicia were the Tzakkarai. We only hear of that tribe as settled in the little coast-town of Dor, but it was apparently second only to the Purusati in importance,

1. Cf. Herod., I, 171-3; Strabo, XIII, i. 48, XIV, i. 6; Pausanias, VII, iii. 7; Strabo, XIV, ii. 3, 27.

2. This point is brought out very clearly by Autran, *Phéniciens*.

and its territory must therefore have extended farther north and may well have included Phoenicia. In Wen-Amon's story, *circa* 1100 B.C., the King of Byblos was Ta-ka-ru-b'ira, which is generally taken to be the Semitic Zacchar (as in Zacchariah)-ba'al. J. A. Reinach has suggested ¹ that the first part of the name may be a Semitised corruption of Tzakkar(ai), and if that be possible it is tempting to see in the latter part not the Semitic suffix *ba'al* but *piru*, a not uncommon element in Asianic names. More to the point is Justin's story (xviii, 3, 5) of the capture of Sidon, *circa* 1196 B.C. *a rege Ascalaniorum*, for it is only natural that the Philistines of Ashkelon should have helped their allies to conquer their northern territory; and if Macalister's ingenious emendation, ² *a rege Sacaloniorum*, be accepted, the case is even clearer. Jeremiah (xlvii, 4) writing *circa* 609-608 makes Tyre and Sidon even then friends and allies of the Philistines, a combination hardly likely if the Phoenicians had no Aegean traditions to unite them to the strongly anti-Semitic southerners. ³ Another curious point of connection between the Phoenicians and the Philistines is given by an Egyptian inscription of the twenty-second Dynasty (probably *temp.* Sheshonk I, 945-924 B.C.) ⁴ which describes a certain Petisis as 'official interpreter for the two countries of Pa Kana'an and Pileschet.' Dussaud ⁵ has argued from this that the Philistine language had already died out and that the Semitic tongue had become common to Philistia and Phoenicia alike; but that this was not the case seems clear from the fact that late in the sixth century the children of Jewish fathers and Philistine mothers, brought up to speak their mother's tongue, were unintelligible to the Jews (Nehemiah xiii, 23), and it is more natural to conclude from the Egyptian phrase that the two dialects, Philistine and (upper-class) Phoenician, were akin in that both were non-Semitic and Asianic. If the Aegeo-Phoenicians were Tzakkarai it would explain why the Cypriote relation seems to be stronger and more lasting in Phoenicia than in the rest of Syria, since the Tzakkarai can be identified with the Teukroi, and the Teukroi are just those iron-using people who, according to Greek tradition (Pindar, *Nem.* iv, 46), founded Salamis in

1. *Revue archéol.*, IV. xv. 45.

2. *The Philistines*, p. 37.

3. Hence von Lichtenburg, *ad loc.* 'Sollten sich noch bis zum Schlusse des 7 vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts Takkaraleute in grösserer Menge unter den Bewohnern von Tyrus und Sidon erhalten haben?' *op. cit.*, p. 26.

4. *Bull. de l'Inst. fr. au Caire*, I, 1901, pp. 98-100.

5. *Op. cit.*, p. 303.

Cyprus not far from where the Phoenicians later on founded their trading-station of Kition.

A good deal of fun has been poked at the Ptolemaic scribe who in the Canopus Decree translates Phoenicia by Keftô. I cannot help thinking that an imperial text of the sort would have been entrusted to an educated person, perhaps a member of the university staff at Alexandria, and that his rendering reflects a theory current amongst scholars of his time which is not far removed from the truth.¹ If in the Septuagint (2 Sam. xx, 23 ; 2 Kings xi, 4, 19) 'Cherethites' is translated 'Carians' (elsewhere they appear as Cretans ; in Isaiah ix, 12, the Philistines are called "Ελληνες) this too may fairly be taken as evidence, the identifications being due to theories which, if not always consistent, have some backing in tradition and fact ; the case is strengthened too by the Greek use of 'Phoenicia' to designate Caria ; and even now Feniki survives as a place-name on the Lycian coast. When Thucydides (i, 8) describes the sea-robbers of King Minos' day as οἱ νησιῶται Κάρεις τε ὄντες καὶ Φοίνικες, his island Phoenicians are no Syrian Semites (such as had yet to learn to venture far overseas) but a people with whom the Carians would naturally be bracketed. 'It is not the Mycenaeans who are Phoenicians, it is the Phoenicians who, in many respects, acted as the depositaries of decadent Mycenaean art,'² and if this relic of the Aegean tradition was brought to Carchemish, to Phoenicia and to the Philistine lowlands by tribes whose earlier home was in south and south-western Asia Minor, we can better understand how Diodorus (v, 84) can represent the Carians as masters of the sea in the twelfth century--μετὰ δὲ τὴν Τροίας ἄλωσιν Κάρεις αὐξηθέντες ἐπὶ πλείον ἑθαλαττοκράτουν κ.τ.λ.

1. The phrase is taken seriously by its latest commentator, Weil, in his article in *Syria*, II, ii. p. 125.

2. Evans, in *Address to Brit. Ass.*, Liverpool, 1896.

REVIEWS

[*The Editor will be glad to receive books and periodicals for review.*]

Nile and Jordan. By Rev. G. A. FRANK KNIGHT, M.A., F.R.S.E.
(London: James Clarke & Co., Ltd., 1921.)

This large volume of 572 pages with its copious, perhaps too copious footnotes, is clearly a labour of love which has occupied its author during many years. Whatever faults it may have it is undoubtedly a great achievement. It may be described as a history of Egypt with special reference to her Palestinian relations.

We owe its author a debt of gratitude for the courage with which he has thrown over the time-honoured attribution of the Exodus to the reign of Merenptah, an attribution based apparently on nothing more than the occurrence in the narrative of Genesis and Exodus of the place-name Rameses or Raamses, which may perfectly well be an anachronism of nomenclature, and on the reference to Israel on the Merenptah Victory Stela, which proves nothing at all, but over which even some of the wisest have completely lost their heads. On the other hand we cannot but regret that he has adopted the higher dating (3500 B.C.) for the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty, long abandoned by practically every Egyptologist of note, and now made more difficult than ever by the evidence of the new Carnarvon cylinder, which bears the cartouche of a Sehete-pibré, who is either Amenembet I of the Twelfth Dynasty or a less well-known king of the Thirteenth, and an inscription in Babylonian cuneiform in a style which may be as late as 2000 B.C., and can hardly be more than a few centuries earlier at the most.¹

The author has searched the literature of his subject thoroughly, and is rarely guilty of a serious omission in his references. (Max Pieper's article *Das Brettspiel der alten Aegypter* would have answered his queries in the last paragraph of p. 197.) On the other hand he occasionally seems a little uncritical in his use of his authorities, and apt to represent as fact what even those to whose work he refers would regard only as possibility or probability. Thus, for example, on p. 129, we are told that shortly after the Twelfth Dynasty the 'Sinai Peninsula was invaded and passed under Chaldaean influence, the very mountains taking on a Babylonian name, *Sinai*, from the Chaldaean Moon-god Sin.' In the

1. Petrie's note in *Ancient Egypt*, 1921, p. 103, to the effect that the cylinder may have lain some time in Babylonia before being carried to Egypt surely only renders his own theory more difficult than ever. How will the Assyriologists like the date of 3500 B.C. or earlier to which his chronology would assign the inscription!

first place this statement assumes the equation Magan equals Sinai, which not all Assyriologists accept; in the second place there is no serious evidence for deriving Sinai from Sin; and in the third place the author is surely under a delusion as to the time at which and the way in which the peninsula acquired its modern name of Sinai. On the same page we are told without query that Gudea of Lagash brought wood from Upper Egypt; yet it is doubtful whether any Assyriologist now believes that Melukha means Upper Egypt. On the next page Amraphel, Arioch and Tidal are made vassals of Chedorlaomer of Elam, an arrangement which the wording of Genesis 14, 5 does not necessitate, and which the history of the reign of Amraphel (Khammurabi) does not justify. Finally, it is so far from being true that Pilter's article (p. 130) has settled the identification of Arioch of Ellasar with Eriaku (Warad Sin) of Larsa, that the newly-discovered Larsa Dynasty list shows that Eriaku died thirty years before Khammurabi began to reign, and thus can hardly have been his ally.

Other instances of this type of writing might be given. The pre-dynastic Egyptians should hardly be referred to as neolithic without some caution to the effect that Petrie believes, apparently on good grounds, that copper was already known, though in small quantities, in the earliest and most primitive tombs yet found. The contrary view would appear to rest only on unpublished evidence from Naga ed-Dêr, which cannot be accepted as evidence until published. To speak dogmatically of Semito-Libyans as inhabiting the North of Egypt and neolithic Hamites the South (p. 36), is the merest hypothesis; light indeed would be the task of the Egyptologist if the matter were as simple and as clear as this.

This same lack of critical attitude is apparent in regard to smaller matters. For instance, we now know enough of Cretan pottery to assert with considerable assurance that the painted vases found in the tomb of King Zer at Abydos are not Cretan importations (p. 88). On p. 100 we read, 'This fort of Avaris is not Pelusium.' Yet Gardiner has, in an article which appeared since this book was published, placed it virtually beyond doubt that Avaris is Pelusium. In any case there was never any serious reason for identifying it with Tell el Yâhudiyyeh, an identification with regard to which we are told 'there is no doubt' (p. 101). Lieblein's view, that the names Potiphar, Asenath, etc., indicate the Hyksos period, quoted as authoritative on p. 108, does violence to the rules of phonetics and has long been abandoned. What, again, is the evidence for the statement on p. 112 that in the Hyksos period 'the chief hierophant of Ra at Heliopolis was at the head of Egyptian religious worship, and was of royal blood.' In the identifications of the sites of Pithom, Raamses, etc., the author exhibits a strange preference for the guesses of early explorers bent on finding biblical sites at any cost as against Gardiner's irresistible combination of philological reasoning and inquiry into what the Egyptians themselves have to say on the matter (a detail only too frequently ignored by Egyptologists). He seems to be

unaware, too, that Gardiner has destroyed for ever the illusion that Goshen equals Qesem or Saft el Henneh (pp. 137 and 241). The evidence for the identification of the Shardana with the Sardinians (accepted on p. 255) is very meagre, and Wainwright's identification of Keftiu with Eastern Cilicia can hardly be explained away as 'a mere matter of wind' (p. 260).

The book is not altogether free from minor errors. Thus Retennu (p. 167) and Keftiu (p. 260) are the names not of peoples but of places. The scribe Anna or Ennene did not compose the 'Tale of the Two Brothers,' he merely made the copy which happens to have come down to us. Similarly Pentaur (p. 233) was not a poet, but only a scribe who made the copy of the Kadesh Poem preserved in Papyri Sallier III and Raifet. No golden *Bügelkannen* were found in the tomb of Ramesses III (p. 259), though they were represented in its wall-paintings.

But despite such errors as these, which are almost unavoidable in one whose vocation prevents him from being in continual and daily contact with his material, and despite the lack of that critical discernment which only a first-hand acquaintance with the philological and archaeological as well as with the historical material can give, the book is a mine of information and reference which cannot fail to prove of use to the biblical student.

T. E. PEET.

JOSEPH HAZZIDAKIS. *Étude de Préhistoire Crétoise, Tyllissos à l'Époque Minoenne, suivie d'une note sur les larnax de Tyllissos*. Traduit du grec par l'auteur avec la collaboration de L. Franchet, Chargé de Mission en Crète et en Égypte. Introduction et annotation par L. Franchet. Paris : Librairie Paul Geuthner. 8vo, pp. 88, 10 plates + 48 illustrations in the text.

This little book is a translation by Dr. Hazzidakis into French of his paper in the *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερὶς* of 1912 describing the objects found in the first three seasons' work at Tyllissos between 1909 and 1912, an excavation that was notable for the extreme care that marked it.

The descriptions are clear and admirable and are only marred by the inadequacy of the blocks by which most of Dr. Hazzidakis' excellent photographs are reproduced.

The book is now amplified by an introduction by M. L. Franchet which sums up the results of the chronological evidence.

The objects found indicate three periods of occupation of the site. The earliest comprises remains of E.M.1, E.M.2, E.M.3 and the beginnings of Middle Minoan ; the next, remains of the end of Middle Minoan and the beginnings of Late Minoan ; while the third is of the Late Minoan 3 or 'Mycenaean' period.

It is implied in the introduction that the generally accepted Cretan

chronology is upset by the results of this excavation. From the book itself, however, it hardly seems necessary to go so far. On the face of it pottery belonging to the periods E.M.1-M.M.1 inclusive, found together in a stratum from '50 m. to '80 m. thick between the rock and the pavement of a later building, should in the absence of any reason to the contrary bear explanation as the result of the telescoping of the material of several periods done when the paving was laid down. For the rest the results of Tyliossos, interesting as they are, are only additional indications hardly to be stressed to-day that any divisions made in describing a continuously developing culture are but milestones set up for convenience. They do not necessarily imply a break in the road.

In consequence, whether or no elsewhere a break can be discerned at the end of the Middle Minoan period, there is nothing disturbing in finding at Tyliossos a building with remains of M.M.3 mingled with those of L.M.1 and 2.

A note on some Cretan larnakes completes an interesting volume.

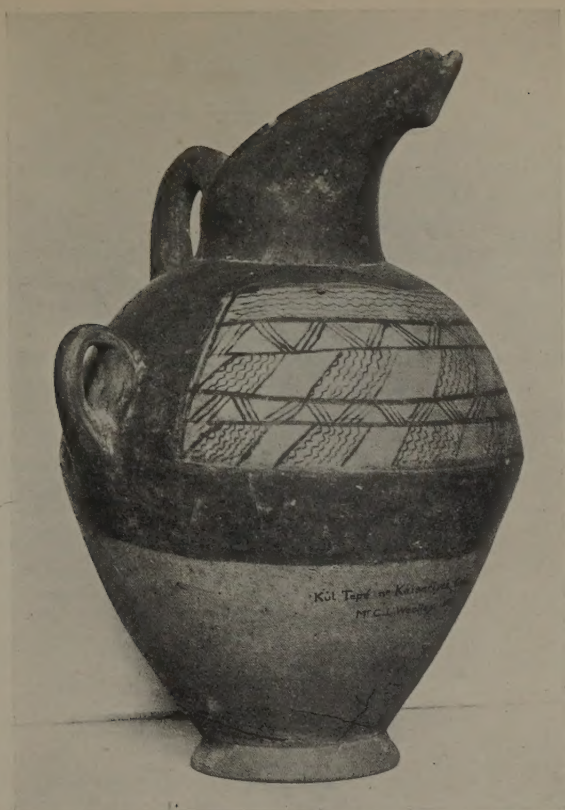
J. P. DROOP.

The Witch-Cult in Western Europe. By MARGARET ALICE MURRAY.
Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1921. Pp. 303. 16s. net.

Miss Murray claims to have discovered that the witchcraft of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries represents an organised cult which survived in western Europe from prehistoric times. She has not proved her case. In itself the hypothesis is improbable although it belongs to a type which would seem to be coming into fashion. Quite recently Miss Weston made a similar and in my opinion unsuccessful attempt to prove that the Legend of the Grail had its origin in the survival of Mithraic rites.

That Miss Murray's prehistoric religion existed at all is purely hypothetical; the two passages quoted from Strabo and Dionysius Periegetes prove nothing; her allusion on p. 12 to Janus and Diana is based upon a vital misapprehension of fact which reference to any reputable and recent work upon Roman religion would correct. Nor is there any solid bridge between this hypothetical prehistoric religion and the period 1550-1700 A.D. to which the bulk of the evidence considered belongs.

In the ingenious examination of the records of the witch trials I am not always able to agree with Miss Murray's reasoning. Upon more than one occasion she tells me that 'the evidence proves' something when the facts would be more accurately represented by saying 'if my main proposition is accepted the evidence may be thus interpreted.' Nor does her equipment for its interpretation inspire confidence, for although she has studied the documents of the trials with great care and thoroughness there is little evidence of any profound knowledge either of the thought and institutions of the Middle Ages or of the immediate back-



1. VASE FROM KEULTEPE. Scale about $\frac{1}{2}$.

2. BRONZE AXE-HEADS FROM ASHKELON. Scale about $\frac{1}{2}$.

ground of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For example, she is misled by not knowing that the organisation into covens, so far from being a relic of a prehistoric religion, is a parody of a monastic institution, just as the Black Mass is the parody of a Christian rite. (Cf. *New English Dictionary*, *svv.* convent, coven.)

Again if she were at home in the biographical literature of the seventeenth century she would be likely to modify her view that William Marsh of Dunstable, the friend of many years' standing of Lilly the Astrologer, was a clear example of the sacerdotal head of a local witch organisation. (Cf. *The Life and Times of William Lilly, Student in Astrology, written by Himself* (London 1774), p. 76; Aubrey, *Miscellanies* (London 1721), p. 171.)

This may seem a severe notice of a book which contains a great deal of interesting information, but an important principle at stake necessitates frankness. No historical research can profitably be prosecuted without reference to the probabilities and known facts of historical development and to the thought and ways of life of the particular period to which they belong.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

